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OF

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TO THE TRAVELS OF LORD VALENTIA.

In Twenty-eight Volumes.

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EGYPT.

British Miles.
10 20 30 40 50 60

Longitude East from Greenwich.

M E D I T E R R A N E A N S E A

R E D S E A

A R A B I A N G U L F

Razze or Gaza
Hebron
Suez
el Arish
Tineh
Catieh
Salahieh
Lake Menzaleh
Damietta Mouth
Pelusiac Mouth
Lake Sheib
Belbeis
Abiar
Suez
Cairo
Old Cairo
Plain of Jendali
Pyramids
Plain of Bacara
Lake Moeris
Birket el Karun
Terane
Fayoum
Benisuef
Behnesa in the Wah
Behnesa
Abu Girge
Samalute
Manfalout
Siut or Osiout
Abutige
Girge
Sohage
Akmim
Farshoot
Fauhaash
Dendera
Keneh
Kous
Nekadeh
Beled Mousa
Kenneh
Hiw
Asna or Esneh
Edfu
Koum Ombo
Assuan
Cataracts
Mt Agrib
Gebel Doan
Mt Horeb
Gebel Tour or Mt Sima
C. Jehan
Tor
Ras Selima
Ras Mohammed
Tiran
Shadwan
Jubal I.
Fair I.
Shabal
Red I.
Suakim I.
Rebat I.s
Jaffatine I.
Brothers
el Osseir
Meilah
Calaat el Acaba
Dilah
Jibel Zabarged
Sandy I.
Emerald I.
Ras Atlas or C. Nao
Mt Ramlie
Mt Atlas
Charje
Shek Hale
Bugaite
Maghess
Oases
Nile
Mauden Uzzumurd or Emerald Mount.

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ALEX. MACPHERSON DEL.

COOPER SC.

TRAVELS

OF

JAMES BRUCE, ESQ.

INTO

ABYSSINIA,

TO DISCOVER THE SOURCE OF THE NILE,

PERFORMED IN THE YEARS

1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, & 1773.

THE veil of suspicion, which was early thrown over Mr. Bruce's travels, can never be removed, till some person of equal enterprise and independence pursues the same career, and retraces his steps. This we cannot speedily hope for. Few possess his resolution, and fewer still are animated with a desire of risking life and fortune in a field where novelty ceases to invite, and interest cannot stimulate.

A kind of fatality attended Bruce. He was suspected of imposture, without a motive, save vanity, to justify the charge: his pride, or, as some will think, his prudence, prevented him from entering into explanations which might have dispelled the shades of doubt; and he left the world without reaping the reward due to his discoveries, if real; or suffering that ignominy which a clear detection of romance would deservedly have drawn on him.

Some of his most extraordinary positions, how-

ever, have been confirmed by the evidence of others; and perhaps, in time to come, other apparently marvellous descriptions may obtain credit from concurrent testimonies. On this head we dare not venture a positive opinion; suffice it to say, that from the most authentic accounts respecting James Bruce, his frame, his character, his address, and the vigour of his mind, eminently qualified him for the task he undertook, and pointed him out as a man formed for hazardous enterprises.

His eventful life was closed by a hurt, received from a fall down stairs, at his seat of Kinnaird, near Falkirk, in May 1794; and since his death no particulars have transpired, that can throw any additional light on his history. We shall therefore give a brief view of his travels, as detailed by himself.

The discovery of the source of the Nile, Mr. Bruce says, was a subject of frequent conversation between him and his friends; but it was always mentioned to him with a kind of diffidence, as if to be expected from a more experienced traveller. Whether this was intended to urge him on to the attempt, he does not presume to say; but his heart in that instant did him the justice to suggest, that this too, was either to be achieved by him, or to remain, as it had done, for these last two thousand years, a defiance to all travellers, and an opprobrium to geography.

Fortune seemed apparently to favour this scheme. For a vacancy happening in the consulship of Algiers, Lord Halifax pressed Mr. Bruce to accept of this office, as containing all sort of conveniences for making the proposed expedition.

He had all his life applied unweariedly to drawing, the practice of mathematics, and especially that part necessary to astronomy. The transit of Venus was at hand. It was certainly known that it would be visible once at Algiers, and there was

great reason to expect it might be twice. He furnished himself with a large apparatus of instruments, the completest of their kind for the observation. It was a pleasure to Mr. Bruce to know, that it was not from a solitary desert, but from his own house at Algiers, he could deliberately take measures to place himself in the list of men of science of all nations, who were then animated with the same object.

Thus prepared, he set out for Italy, through France; and on his arrival at Rome, he received orders to proceed to Naples, there to wait his majesty's farther commands. Having stopped a short time there, he received orders to proceed, to take possession of his consulship. He returned without loss of time to Rome, and thence to Leghorn, where, having embarked on board the Montreal man of war, he arrived at Algiers.

After Mr. Bruce had spent a year at Algiers, constant conversation with the natives whilst abroad, and with his manuscripts within doors, had qualified him to appear in any part of the continent without the help of an interpreter.

Business of a private nature having at this time obliged him to take a voyage to Mahon, he sailed from Algiers, after having taken leave of the dey, who furnished him with the necessary passports, and also gave him recommendatory letters to the bey of Tunis and Tripoli. Being disappointed in his views at Mahon, he sailed in a small vessel from that port; and, having a fair wind, in a short time made the coast of Africa, and landed at Bona, a considerable town. It stands on a large plain, part of which seems to have been once overflowed by the sea. Its trade consists now in the exportation of wheat, when, in plentiful years, that trade is permitted by the government of Algiers. The island is famous

for a coral fishery; and along the coast are immense forests of large beautiful oaks, more than sufficient to supply the necessities of all the maritime powers in the Levant, if the quality of the wood be but equal to the size and beauty of the tree.

After a favourable voyage, he arrived at Tunis, which is a large and flourishing city. The people are more civilized than in Algiers, and the government milder; but the climate is very far from being so good. Tunis is low, hot, and damp, and destitute of good water, with which Algier is supplied from a thousand springs.

Having delivered his letters from the bey, and obtained permission to visit the country in whatever direction he should please, he set out on his inland journey through the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis. He found at Dugga a large scene of ruins, among which one building was easily distinguishable. It was a large temple of the Corinthian order, all of Parian marble, the columns fluted, the cornice highly ornamented in the very best style of sculpture. In the tympanum is an eagle flying to heaven, with a human figure upon his back, which, by the many inscriptions that are still remaining, seems to be intended for that of Trajan, and the apotheosis of that emperor to be the subject, the temple having been erected by Adrian to that prince, his benefactor and predecessor.

From Dugga he continued the upper road to Keff, through the pleasant plains inhabited by the Welled Yagoube. He then proceeded to Hydra, a frontier place between the two kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, as Keff is also. It is inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, whose chief is a marabout, or saint; these Arabs are immensely rich, paying no tribute either to Tunis or Algiers. The pretence for this exemption is a very singular one.

By the institution of their founder, they are obliged to live upon lion's flesh for their daily food, as far as they can procure it; with this they strictly comply, and, in consideration of the utility of this their vow, they are not taxed, like the other Arabs, with payments to the state. The consequence of this life is, that they are excellent and well-armed horsemen, exceedingly bold and undaunted hunters. It is generally imagined, indeed, that these considerations, and that of their situation on the frontier, have as much influence in procuring them exemption from taxes, as the utility of their pursuits.

From Hydra he passed to the ancient Tipasa, another Roman colony. Here is a more extensive scene of ruins; consisting of a large temple, and a four-faced triumphal arch, of the Corinthian order, in the very best taste.

From hence he continued his journey in a straight line, nearly south-east, and arrived at Medrashem, a superb pile of building, the sepulchre of Syphax, and the other kings of Numedia; and where, as the Arabs believe, were also deposited the treasures of those kings. Advancing still to the south-east, through broken ground, and some very barren valleys, which produced nothing but game, he came to Jebel Aurez, the Aurasius Mons of the middle age. This is not one mountain, but an assemblage of many of the most craggy steeps in Africa.

Having proceeded to the north-east as far as Tubersoke, he returned to Dugga, and from thence to Tunis. His next journey through Tunis, was by Zowan, a high mountain, where is a large aqueduct, which formerly conveyed water to Carthage.

Having continued his journey along the coast to Susa, through a fine country planted with olive trees, he came again to Tunis, not only without disagreeable accident, but without any interruption from sickness, or other cause. He then took leave of the bey, and, with the acknowledgments usual on suc

occasions, again set out for Tunis, on a very serious journey indeed, over the desert to Tripoli, the first part of which was to Gabs, and from thence to the Island of Gerba.

About four days' journey from Tripoli, Mr. Bruce met the Emir Hadje conducting the caravan of pilgrims from Fez and Sus, in Morocco, to Mecca; that is, from the Western Ocean to the western banks of the Red Sea, in the kingdom of Sennaar. He was a middle aged man, uncle to the present emperor, of a very uncomely, stupid kind of countenance. His caravan consisted of three thousand men, and as his people said, from twelve to fourteen thousand camels, part loaded with merchandise, part with skins of water, flour, and other kinds of food. They were a mean, disorderly, unarmed pack; and when our traveller's horsemen, though but fifteen in number, came up with them in the dawn of the morning, they shewed great signs of trepidation, and were already flying in confusion. When informed who they were, their fears ceased; and, after the usual manner of cowards, they become extremely insolent.

Being arrived at Tripoli, he sent an English servant from thence to Smyrna with his books, drawings, and supernumerary instruments, retaining only extracts from such authors as might be necessary for him in the Pentapolis, or other parts of the Cyrenaicum. He then crossed the Gulph of Sydra, formerly known by the name of the Syrtis Major, and arrived at Bengazi, the ancient Berenice, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The brother of the bey of Tripoli, who commanded here, was a young man, as weak in understanding as he was in health. All the province was in extreme confusion. Two tribes of Arabs, occupying the territory to the west of the town, who, in ordinary years, and in time of peace, were the sources of its wealth and plenty, had, by the mismanagement of the bey, entered into a violent quarrel. The tribe that

lived most to the westward, and which was reputed the weakest, had beat the most numerous that was nearest the town, and driven them within its walls. The inhabitants of Bengaz had, for a year before, been labouring under a severe famine, and by this accident about four thousand persons, of all ages and sexes, were forced in upon them, when perfectly destitute of every necessary. Ten or twelve people were found dead every night in the streets; and life was said in many to be supported by food that human nature shudders at the thoughts of. Impatient to fly from these scenes, Mr. Bruce prevailed on the bey to send him out some distance to the southward, among the Arabs, where famine did not rage with such violence.

He encompassed a great part of the Pentapolis, visited the ruins of Arsinoe, and received neither insult nor injury. Finding nothing at Arsinoe nor Barca, he continued his journey to Ras Sem, the petrified city, concerning which so many ridiculous tales were told by the Tripoline ambassador, Cassem Aga, at the beginning of this century, and all believed in England, though they carried falsehood upon the very face of them.

Now approaching the sea coast, he came to Ptolometa, where he met a Greek junk belonging to Lampedosa, a little island near Crete, which had been unloading corn, and was now ready to sail. At the same time, the Arabs of Ptolometa told him, that the Welled Ali, a powerful tribe, that occupy the whole country between that place and Alexandria, were at war among themselves, and had plundered the caravan of Morocco, and that the pilgrims composing it had mostly perished, having been scattered in the desert without water; that a great famine had been at Derna, the neighbouring town, to which Mr. Bruce intended to go; that a plague had followed, and the town, which is divided into upper and lower, was engaged in a civil war. This torrent of ill news was

irresistible, and was of a kind he did not propose to struggle with; besides, there was nothing, as far as he knew, that merited the risk. He resolved, therefore, to fly from this inhospitable coast; and embarked on board the Greek vessel, very ill accoutred, as he afterwards found; for, though it had plenty of sail, it had not an ounce of ballast. A number of people, men, women, and children, flying from the calamities which attend famine, crowded in unknown to him: but the passage was short, the vessel light, and the master, as was supposed, well accustomed to those seas. The contrary of this, however, was the truth, as he learned afterwards, when too late, for he was an absolute landsman; proprietor, indeed, of the vessel, but this had been his first voyage. They sailed at dawn of day, in very favourable and pleasant weather. It was the beginning of September, and a light and steady breeze promised a short and agreeable voyage; but it was not long before it turned fresh and cold; a violent shower of hail came on, and the clouds were gathering as if for thunder. Mr. Bruce observed that they gained no offing; and hoped, if the weather turned bad, to persuade the captain to put into Bengazi; for one inconvenience he presently discovered, that they had not provision on board for one day.

The wind, however, became contrary, and blew a violent storm. The vessel being in her trim, with large latine sails, fell violently to leeward, and they scarce had weathered the cape that makes the entrance into the harbour of Bengazi, when, all at once, it struck upon a sunken rock, and remained fixed. The wind, at that instant seemed providentially to calm; but our traveller no sooner observed the ship had struck, than he began to think of his own situation. They were not far from shore, but there was an exceeding great swell at sea. Two boats were still towed astern of them, and had not been hoisted in. Roger M'Cormack, Mr. Bruce's Irish servant, had

been a sailor on board the Monarch before he deserted to the Spanish service. He and the other, who had likewise been a sailor, presently unlashed the largest boat, and all three got down into her, followed by a multitude of people whom they could not hinder; and there was, indeed, something that bordered on cruelty, in preventing poor people from using the same means that they had done for preserving their lives. Our traveller had stripped himself to a short under waistcoat, and linen drawers; a silk sash, or girdle was wrapt round him; a pencil, small pocket-book, and watch, were in the breast-pocket of his waistcoat; two Moorish and two English servants followed him; the rest, more wise, remained on board.

They were not twice the length of the boat from the vessel, before a wave very nearly filled the boat. A howl of despair from those that were in her shewed their helpless state, and that they were conscious of a danger they could not shun. Mr. Bruce saw the fate of all was to be decided by the very next wave that was rolling in; and, apprehensive that some woman, child, or helpless man, would lay hold of him, and weigh him down, he cried to his servants, both in Arabic and English, "We are all lost; if you can swim, follow me:" he then let himself down in the face of the wave. Whether that, or the next, filled the boat, he knows not, as he went to leeward, to make his distance as great as possible. He was a good, strong, and practised swimmer, in the flower of life, full of health, trained to exercise and fatigue of every kind. All this, however, which might have availed much in deep water, was not sufficient when he came to the surf. He received a violent blow upon his breast from the eddy wave and reflux, which seemed as given him by a large branch of a tree, thick cord, or some elastic weapon. It threw him upon his back, made him swallow a considerable quantity of water, and had then almost suffocated him.

Our traveller avoided the next wave, by dipping his head, and letting it pass over; but found himself breathless, exceedingly weary and exhausted. The land, however, was before him, and close at hand. A large wave floated him up. He had the prospect of escape till nearer, and endeavoured to prevent himself from going back into the surf. His heart was strong, but strength was apparently failing, by being involuntarily twisted about, and struck on the face and breast by the violence of the ebbing wave: it now seemed as if nothing remained but to give up the struggle, and resign to his destiny. Before he did this, he sunk to sound if he could touch the ground, and found that he reached the sand with his feet, though the water was still rather deeper than his mouth. The success of this experiment infused into him ten-fold strength; and he strove manfully, taking advantage of floating only with the influx of the wave, and preserving his strength for the struggle against the ebb, which, by sinking and touching the ground, he now made more easy. At last, finding his hands and knees upon the sands, he fixed his nails into it, and obstinately resisted being carried back at all, crawling a few feet when the sea had retired. He had perfectly lost his recollection and understanding; and, after creeping so far as to be out of the reach of the sea, he supposes he fainted, for, from that time, he was totally insensible of every surrounding object.

In this critical situation, the Arabs, who lived two miles from the shore, came down in crowds to plunder the vessel. One of the boats was thrown ashore, there was one yet with the wreck, which scarcely appeared with its gunnel above water, and every moment seemed ready to sink. All the people were now taken on shore, and those only lost who perished in the boat. What first awakened Mr. Bruce from this semblance of death, was a blow with the but-end of a lance, shod with iron, upon the juncture of the

neck with the back-bone. This produced a violent sensation of pain; but it was a mere accident the blow was not with the point; for the small, short waistcoat, which had been made at Algiers, the sash and drawers, all in the Turkish fashion, made the Arabs believe that he was a Turk; and after many blows, kicks, and curses, they stript him of the little clothing he had, and left him naked. They used the rest in the same manner, and then went to their boats to looked for the drowned bodies.

After having received this discipline, he had walked, or crawled up among some white, sandy hillocks, where he sat down and concealed himself as much as possible. The weather was then warm, but the evening promised to be cooler, and it was fast drawing on; there was great danger to be apprehended if he approached the tents where the women were while he was naked; for in this case it was very probable he would receive another bastinado, something worse than the first. Still he was so confused, that he had not recollected he could speak to them in their own language, and it now only came into his mind, that by the gibberish, in imitation of Turkish, which the Arab had uttered to him while he was beating and stripping him, he took him for a Turk, and to this mistake he probably owed his ill treatment.

An elderly looking man, and a number of young Arabs, came up to him where he was sitting. He gave them the salute, Salam Alicum! which was only returned by one young man, in a tone as if he wondered at his impudence. The old man then asked him, whether he was a Turk, and what he had to do there? He replied he was no Turk, but a poor Christian physician, a dervise that went about the world seeking to do good for God's sake; was then flying from famine, and going to Greece to get bread. He then asked him if he was a Cretan. He said, he had never been in Crete, but came from Tunis, and was returning to that town, having lost every thing he had

in the shipwreck of that vessel. He said this in so despairing a tone, that there was no doubt left with the Arab that the fact was true. A ragged, dirty baracan was immediately thrown over him, and he was ordered up to a tent, in the end of which stood a long spear thrust through it, the Arabian mark of sovereign distinction.

The shekh of the tribe, who being in peace with the bey of Bengazi, and also with the shekh of Ptolometa, after many questions, ordered our traveller a plentiful supper, of which all his servants partook, none of them having perished. A multitude of consultations followed on their complaints, of which he freed himself in the best manner he could, alleging the loss of all his medicines.

After staying two days among them, the shekh restored to them all that had been taken from them, and mounting them upon camels, and giving them a conductor, he forwarded them to Bengazi, where they arrived the second day in the evening. From thence he sent a compliment to the shekh, and with it a man from the bey, entreating that he would use all possible means to fish up some of his cases, for which he assured him he should not miss a handsome reward. Promises and thanks were returned, but Mr. Bruce never heard farther of his instruments; all he recovered, was a silver watch of Ellicot, the work of which had been taken out and broken, some pencils and a small port-folio, in which were sketches of Ptolometa; his pocket-book too was found, but his pencil was lost, being in a common silver case, and with them all the astronomical observations which he had made in Barbary.

At Bengazi, Mr. Bruce found a small French sloop, the master of which had been often at Algiers when he was consul there. He had even, as the master remembered, done him some little service, for which he was very grateful. He had come there laden with corn, and was going up the Archipelago, or towards the Morea, for more.

The harbour of Bengazi being full of fish, Mr. Bruce's company caught a great quantity with a small net; they likewise procured a multitude with the line, enough to have mantained a larger number of persons than the family consisted of; they had little bread it is true, but still their industry kept them very far from starving. They endeavoured to instruct these wretches, gave them packthread and some coarse hooks, by which they might have subsisted with the smallest attention and trouble: but they would rather starve in multitudes, striving to pick up single grains of corn, that were scattered upon the beach by the bursting of the sacks, or the inattention of the mariners, than take the pains to watch one hour at the flowing of the tide for excellent fish.

The captain of this little vessel lost no time. He had done his business well; and though he was returning for another cargo, yet he cheerfully offered Mr. Bruce what part of his money he should want. They then sailed with a fair wind, and in four or five days easy weather landed at Canea, a considerable fortified place at the west end of the island of Crete. Here our traveller was taken dangerously ill, occasioned by his extraordinary exertions in the sea of Ptolometa; nor was he in the least the better from the beating he had received, of which he very long afterwards bore the marks.

From Canea he sailed for Rhodes, and there met with his books; he then proceeded to Castelrosso, on the coast of Caramania, and was there credibly informed, that there were very magnificent remains of ancient buildings, a short way from the shore, on the opposite continent. Caramania is a part of Asia Minor yet unexplored. But his illness increasing, it was impossible to execute, or take any measures to secure protection, or do the business safely; so he was forced to relinquish this discovery to some more fortunate traveller.

Mr. Bruce, during his stay at Canea, wrote by way

of France, and again while at Rhodes, by way of Smyrna, to particular friends both in London and France, informing them of his disastrous situation, and desiring them to send him a moveable quadrant or sextant, a time-keeper, a stop-watch, a reflecting telescope, and one of Dolland's achromatic ones, with several other articles of which he was then in much want.

Our traveller received from Paris and London much about the same time, and as if it had been dictated by the same person, nearly the same answer, which was this, that every body was employed in making instruments for Danish, Swedish, and other foreign astronomers; that all those which were completed had been bought up, and without waiting a considerable, indefinite time, nothing could be had that could be depended upon.

Mr. Bruce finding himself much hurt by false reports that had been raised against him in Europe, and seeing himself so treated in return for so complete a journey as he had then actually terminated, thought it idle to sacrifice the best years of his life to daily pain and danger, when the impression it made in the breasts of his countrymen, seemed to be so weak, so infinitely unworthy of them or him.

In the first glow of his resentments, he renounced all thoughts of the attempt to discover the sources of the Nile; and he repeated his orders no more for either quadrant, telescope, or time-keeper. He had pencils and paper; and luckily his large camera obscura, which had escaped the catastrophe of Ptolometa, was arrived from Smyrna. He therefore began to look about for the means of obtaining feasible and safe methods of repeating the famous journey to Palmyra.

From Smyrna, Mr. Bruce went to Tripoli in Syria, and thence to Hassia. From thence he would have gone southward to Balbec, but it was then besieged by Emir Yousel, prince of the Druses, a Pa-

gan nation, living upon Mount Libanus. Upon that he returned to Tripoli in Syria, and after some time set out for Aleppo, travelling northward along the plain of Jeune, betwixt Mount Lebanon and the sea. He visited the ancient Byblus, and bathed with pleasure in the river Adonis. All here is classic ground. He saw several considerable ruins of Grecian architecture all very much defaced.

Having passed Latikea, he came to Antioch, and afterwards to Aleppo. The fever and ague, which he had first caught at Bengazi, had returned upon him with great violence, after passing one night encamped in the mulberry gardens behind Sidon. It had returned in very slight paroxysms several times, but laid hold of him with more than ordinary violence on his arrival at Aleppo, where he came just in time to the house of Mr. Belville, a French merchant, to whom he was addressed for his credit. Had it not been for the kind attention and skilful advice he here met with, it is probable his travels would have ended at Aleppo.

Mr. Bruce having perfectly recovered his health, began to think of his journey to Palmyra. He set out at a time appointed for Hamath, where he found his conductor, and proceeded to Hassia. The river which passes through the plains where they cultivate their best tobacco, is the Orontes; it was so swollen with rain, which had fallen in the mountains, that the ford was no longer visible. Stopping at two miserable huts inhabited by a base set, called Turcomans, our traveller asked the master of one of them to shew him the ford, which he very readily undertook to do, and Mr. Bruce went, for the length of some yards, on rough, but very hard and solid ground. The current before him was, however, so violent, that he had more than once a desire to turn back, but, not suspecting any thing, he continued, when on a suddan both he and his horse fell out of their depth into the river; and both had the good fortune to swim separately and safely ashore. At a small distance

from thence was a caphar, or turnpike, where the keeper told him, that the place where he had crossed, was the remains of a stone bridge, now entirely carried away; that where he had first entered, was one of the wings of the bridge, from which he had fallen into the space the first arch occupied; that the people who had misguided him were an infamous set of banditti; and that he might be thankful, on many accounts, that he had made such an escape from them, and was now on the opposite side. He then prevailed on the caphar man to shew his servants the right ford.

From Hassia they proceeded with their conductor to Cariateen, where an old man on horseback, one from the Mowalli, and another from the Anney tribe, accompanied them to Palmyra: the tribes gave them camels for more commodious travelling, and they passed the desert between Cariateen and Palmyra in a day and two nights, without sleeping.

Just before they came in sight of the ruins, they ascended a hill of white gritty stone, in a very narrow, winding road, such as is called a pass, and, when arrived at the top, there opened before them the most astonishing stupendous sight that perhaps ever appeared to mortal eyes. The whole plain below, which was very extensive, was covered so thick with magnificent buildings, that the one seemed to touch the other, all of fine proportions, all of agreeable forms, all composed of white stones, which at that distance appeared like marble. At the end of it stood the palace of the sun, a building worthy to close so magnificent a scene.

Mr. Bruce proceeded from Palmyra to Balbec, distant about one hundred and thirty miles, and arrived the same day that Emir Yousel had reduced the town and settled the government, and was decamping from it on his return home. This was the luckiest moment possible for our traveller, as he was the emir's friend, and had obtained liberty to do there

what he pleased; and to this indulgence was added the great convenience of the emir's absence, so that he was not troubled by the observance of any court-ceremony or attendance, or teased with impertinent questions.

Balbec is pleasantly situated in a plain on the west of Anti-Libanus, is finely watered, and abounds in gardens. It is about fifty miles from Hassia, and about thirty from the nearest sea-coast, which is the situation of the ancient Byblus. The interior of the great temple of Balbec, supposed to be that of the sun, surpasses any thing at Palmyra.

Passing by Tyre, from curiosity only, Mr. Bruce came to be a mournful witness of the truth of the prophecy, that Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for fishers to dry their nets on. Two wretched fishermen, with miserable nets, having just given over their occupation with very little success, he engaged them, at the expence of their nets, to drag in those places where they said shell-fish might be caught, in hopes to have brought out one of the famous purple-fish He did not succeed, but in this he supposes he was as lucky as the old fishers had ever been. The purple-fish at Tyre seems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal; for had they depended upon the fish for their dye, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year. Much fatigued, but satisfied beyond measure with what he had seen, our traveller arrives at Sidon in good health.

Having at last determined to prosecute his long-intended expedition to discover the source of the Nile, he sailed from Sidon, on the 15th of June, 1768, bound for the island of Cyprus, the wind being favourable and the weather clear and hot.

On the 16th, at dawn of day, our traveller saw a high hill, which from its particular form, described by Strabo, he took for Mount Olympus. It is very

singular, that Cyprus should be so long undiscovered; ships had been used in the Mediterranean one thousand seven hundered years before Christ; yet, though only a day's sailing from the continent of Asia on the north and east, and little more from that of Africa on the south, it was not known at the building of Tyre, a little before the Trojan war, that is, five hundred years after ships had been passing to and fro in the surrounding seas.

A great many medals, though very few of them good, are dug up in Cyprus; silver ones, of very excellent workmanship, are found near Paphos, but of little value in the eyes of antiquarians, being chiefly of towns. Intaglios, there are some few, part in very excellent Greek style, and generally upon better stones than usual in the islands.

On the 17th, of June, they left Lernica, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and on the 20th of June, early in the morning, our traveller had a distant prospect of Alexandria rising from the sea. On the first view of the city, the mixture of old monuments, such as the column of Pompey, with the high moorish towers and steeples, raise our expectations of the consequence of the ruins we are to find; but the moment we are in port, the illusion ends, and we distinguish the immense Herculean works of ancient times, now few in number, from the ill-imagined, ill-constructed, and imperfect buildings, of the several barbarous masters of Alexandria in later ages.

Ancient Alexandria has often changed masters since the time of Cæsar. It was at last destroyed by the Venetians and Cypriots, after the release of St. Lewis. There is nothing beautiful or pleasant in the modern Alexandria, but a handsome street, where a very active and intelligent number of merchants live upon the miserable remnants of that trade, which made its glory in the first times. It is thinly inhabited, and there is a tradition among the natives, that, more than once, it has been in agitation to abandon

it altogether, and retire to Rosetto or Cairo; but that they have been withheld by the opinion of divers saints from Arabia, who have assured them, that Mecca being destroyed, as they think it must be by the Russians, Alexandria is then to become the holy place, and that Mahomet's body is to be transported thither.

On Mr. Bruce's arrival at Alexandria, he found that the plague had raged in that city and neighbourhood from the beginning of March, and that two days only before their arrival, people had begun to open their houses and communicate with each other; but it was no matter, St. John's day was past, the miraculous nucta, or dew, had fallen, and every body went about their ordinary business in safety and without fear. Here Mr. Bruce received his instruments, and found them in good condition.

Our traveller being now prepared for any enterprise, set out for Rosetto. The journey to this place is always performed by land, as the mouth of the branch of the Nile leading to the Rosetto, called the Bogaz, is very shallow and dangerous to pass, and often tedious. The journey by land is also reputed dangerous, and people travel burdened with arms, which they are determined never to use.

Rosetto stands upon that branch of the Nile which was called the Bolbuttic Branch, and is about four miles from the sea. It is a large, clean, neat town, or village, upon the eastern side of the Nile. It is about three miles long, much frequented by studious and religious Mahometans; among these too are a considerable number of merchants, it being the entrepot between Cairo and Alexandria, and *vice versa;* here too the merchant have their factors, who superintend and watch over the merchandise which passes the Bogaz to and from Cairo. There are many gardens, and much verdure, about Rosetto; the ground is low, and retains long the moisture it imbibes from the overflowing of the Nile.

On the 30th of June, Mr. Bruce embarked for Cairo, where he arrived in the beginning of July, recommended to the very hospitable house of Julian and Bertran, to whom he imparted his resolution of pursuing his journey to Abyssinia. The wildness of the intention seemed to strike them greatly, on which account they endeavoured all they could to persuade him against it, but, seeing him resolved, they offered kindly their most effectual services.

That part of Cairo, in which the French are settled, is exceedingly commodious, and fit for retirement. It consists of one long street, where all the merchants of that nation live together. It is shut at one end, by large gates, where there is a guard, and these are kept constantly close in the time of the plague. At the other end is a large garden tolerably kept, in which there are several pleasant walks and seats. All the enjoyments that Christians can hope for, among this vile people, reduces itself to peace and quiet; nobody seeks for more.

There are perhaps four hundred inhabitants in Cairo, who have absolute power, and administer what they call justice, in their own way, and according to their own views. But fortunately, in Mr. Bruce's time, this many-headed monster was no more; there was but one Ali Bey, and there was neither inferior nor superior jurisdiction exercised, but by his officers only. This happy state did not last long. In order to be a bey, the person must have been a slave, and bought for money at a market. Every bey has a great number of servants, slaves to him, as he was to others before; these are his guards, and these he promotes to places in his household, according as they are qualified.

It is very extraordinary to find a race of men in power, all agree to leave their succession to strangers, in preference to their own children, for a number of ages; and that no one should ever have attempted to make his son succeed him, either in dig-

nity or estate, in preference to a slave, whom he has bought for money like a beast.

The instant that Mr. Bruce arrived at Cairo, was perhaps the only one in which he ever could have been allowed, single and unprotected as he was, to have made his intended journey. Ali Bey, known in Europe by various narratives of the last transactions of his life, after having undergone many changes of fortune, and being banished by his rivals from his capital, at last had enjoyed the satisfaction of a return, and of making himself absolute in Cairo.

After a variety of circumstances of little consequence to the reader, Mr. Bruce was admitted to an audience of the bey. He was sitting upon a large sofa, covered with crimson cloth of gold: his turban, his girdle, and the head of his dagger, all thick covered with fine brilliants; one in his turban, that served to support a sprig of brilliants also, was among the largest Mr. Bruce had ever seen. The bey entered into discourse with him concerning the Russian and Turkish war, and conversed some time with him on that subject.

Two or three nights afterwards, the bey sent for him again. It was near eleven o'clock before he got admittance to him. He met the janizary Aga, going out from him, and a number of soldiers at the door. As Mr. Bruce did not know him, he passed him without ceremony, which is not usual for any person to do. Whenever he mounts on horseback, as he was then just going to do, he has absolute power of life and death, without appeal, all over Cairo and its neighbourhood.

He stopt our traveller just at the threshold, and asked one of the bey's people who he was; and was answered, "It is Hakim Englese," the English philosopher or physician. He asked Mr. Bruce in Turkish, in a very polite manner, if he would come and see him, for he was not well? He answered him in Arabic, "Yes, whenever he pleased, but could not

then stay, as he had received a message that the bey was waiting." He replied in Arabic, "no, no; go, for God's sake go; any time will do for me."

The bey was sitting, leaning forward, with a wax-taper in one hand, and reading a small slip of paper, which he held close to his face. He seemed to have little light, or weak eyes; nobody was near him: his people had been all dismissed, or were following the janizary Aga out.

He did not seem to observe Mr. Bruce till he was close upon him, and started, when he said "Salam." He told him he came upon his message. He said, "I thank you; did I send for you?" and without giving him leave to reply, went on, "O true, I did so," and fell to reading his paper again. After this was over, he complained that he had been ill, that he vomited immediately after dinner, though he ate moderately; that his stomach was not yet settled, and was afraid something had been given him to do him mischief.

Our traveller felt his pulse, which was low and weak; but very little feverish. He desired he would order his people to look if his meat was dressed in copper properly tinned; he assured him he was in no danger, and insinuated that he thought he had been guilty of some excess before dinner; at which he smiled, and said to one who was standing by, "Afrite! Afrite!" he is a devil! he is a devil! After giving some simple directions, our traveller retired.

As Mr. Bruce's favour with the bey was now established by frequent interviews, he desired Mr. Risk, the bey's secretary, to procure his peremptory letters of recommendation to Shekh Haman, to the governor of Syene, Ibrim, and Deir, in Upper Egypt. He procured also the same from the janizaries, to these three last places, as their garrisons are from that body at Cairo, which they call their Port. He had also letters from Ali Bey to the bey of Suez, to the Sherriffe of Mecca, to the Naybe (so they call

the sovereign) of Masuah, and to the King of Sennaar, and his minister for the time being.

Having obtained all his letters and dispatches, as well from the patriarch as from the bey, he set about preparing for his journey.

On the other side of the Nile, from Cairo, is Geeza, and about eleven miles beyond this are the pyramids, called the Pyramids of Geeza, the description of which is in every body's hands.

It is very singular, that for such a time as these pyramids have been known, travellers were content rather to follow the report of the ancients, than to make use of their own eyes; yet it has been a constant belief, that the stones composing these pyramids have been brought from the Lybian mountains, though any one who will take the pains to remove the sand on the south side, will find the solid rock there hewn into steps. In the roof of the large chamber, where the Sarcophagus stands, as also in the top of the roof of the gallery, as you go up into that chamber, you see large fragments of the rock, affording an unanswerable proof that those pyramids were once huge rocks, standing where they now are; that some of them, the most proper for their form, were chosen for the body of the pyramid, and the others hewn into steps, to serve for their superstructure, and the exterior parts of them*.

Mr. Bruce having now provided every thing necessary, and taken leave of his very indulgent friends, who had great apprehensions that he and his companions would never return; and fearing lest they should miss the etesian winds, he secured a boat to carry them to Farshout, the residence of Hamam, the shekh of Upper Egypt.

This sort of vessel is called a canja, and is one of the most commodious used on any river, being safe, and expeditious at the same time. That on which

* This appears a singular idea, though it may be partially just.

they embarked was about one hundred feet from stern to stem, with two masts, main and foremast, and two monstrous latine sails; the main sail yard being about two hundred feet in length.

A certain kind of robber, peculiar to the Nile, is constantly on the watch to rob boats, in which they suppose the crew are off their guard. They generally approach the boat when it is calm, either swimming under water, or when it is dark, upon goat skins; after which they mount with the utmost silence, and take away whatever they can lay their hands on. They are not very fond, it seems, of meddling with vessels whereon they see Franks, or Europeans, on account of their fire-arms.

It was the 12th of December, when they embarked on the Nile at Bulac, on board the canja. At first they had the precaution to apply to their friend Risk concerning their captain, Hagi Hassan Abou Cussi, and they obliged him to give his son, Mahomet, in security for his behaviour towards them. There was nothing so much they desired as to be at some distance from Cairo on their voyage. Incivility and extortion are always the consequence in this detestable place when you are about to leave it.

The wind being contrary, they were obliged to advance against the stream, by having the boat drawn with a rope. They advanced a few miles to two convents of Cophts, called Deireteen. Here they stopped to pass the night, having had a fine view of the pyramids of Geeza and Saccara, and being then in sight of a prodigious number of others built of white clay, and stretching far into the desert to the south-west.

On the side of the Nile, opposite to their boat, a little farther to the south, was a tribe of Arabs encamped. These were subject to Cairo, or were then at peace with its government. They are called Howadat, being a part of the Atouni, a large tribe that possesses the Isthmus of Suez, and from that go up between the Red Sea and the mountains that bound

the east part of the Valley of Egypt. They reach to the length of Cosseir, where they border upon another large tribe called Ababdé, which extends from thence up into Nubia. Both these are what were anciently called shepherds, and are constantly at war with each other.

Mr. Bruce now bargained with the shekh of the Howadat to furnish him with horses to go to Metrahenny, or Mohannan, where once he said Mimf had stood, a large city, the capital of all Egypt. All this was executed with great success. Early in the morning the shekh of the Howadat had passed at Miniel, where there is a ferry, the Nile being very deep, and attended our traveller with five horsemen, and a spare horse for himself, at Metrahenny, south of Miniel, where there is a great plantation of palm-trees.

On the 13th, in the morning, our travellers let out their vast sails, and passed a very considerable village called Turra, on the east side of the river, and Shekh Atman, a small village, consisting of about thirty houses, on the west.

The Nile here is about a quarter of a mile broad; and there cannot be the smallest doubt, in any person disposed to be convinced, that this is by far the narrowest part of Egypt yet seen; for it is certainly less than half a mile between the foot of the mountain and the Lybian shore.

Having gained the western edge of the palm-trees at Mohannan, our travellers had a fair view of the pyramids at Geeza, which lie in a direction nearly south-west. They saw three large granite pillars south-west of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken chest of cistern of granite; but no obelisks, or stones with hieroglyphics, and they thought the greatest part of the ruins seemed to point that way, or more southerly.

These, their conductor said, were the ruins of Mimf, or Memphis, the ancient seat of the Pharaohs,

kings of Egypt; and that there was another Mimf, far down in the Delta, by which he meant Menouf, below Terane and Batn el Baccara.

Mr. Bruce, perceiving now that he could get no farther intelligence, returned with his kind guide, whom he gratified for his pains, and they parted content with each other.

It was near four o'clock in the afternoon when they returned to their boatmen. The wind was fair and fresh, when, in great spirits, they hoisted their main and fore-sails, leaving the point of Metrahenny. They saw the Pyramids of Saccara still south-west of them; several villages on both sides of the river, but very poor and miserable; and part of the ground on the east side had been overflowed, yet was not sown; a proof of the oppression and distrees the husbandman suffers in the neighbourhood of Cairo, by the avarice and disagreement of different officers of that motley incomprehensible government.

After sailing about two miles, they saw these men fishing in a very extraordinary manner and situation. They were on a raft of palm branches, supported on a float of clay jars, made fast together. The form was triangular, like the face of a pyramid; two men, each provided with a casting-net, stood at the two corners, and threw their net into the stream together; the third stood at the third corner, which was foremost, and threw his net the moment the other two drew theirs out of the water. And this they repeated, in perfect time, and with surprising regularity. The rais thought our travellers wanted to buy fish, and letting go his mainsail, ordered them on board with a great tone of superiority.

They were in a moment alongside of them; and one of them came on board, lashing his miserable raft to a rope at their stern. In recompence for their trouble, they gave them some large pieces of tobacco, and this transported them so much, that they brought them a basket of several different kinds of fish, all

small, excepting one laid on the top of the basket which weighed about ten pounds, and was most excellent, being perfectly firm, and white like a perch. Mr. Bruce examined their nets, and could not sufficiently admire their success, in a violent stream of deep water, such as the Nile; for the river was at least twelve feet deep where they were fishing, and the current very strong.

These fishers offered willingly to take Mr. Bruce upon the raft to teach him; but his curiosity went not so far. They said their fishing was merely accidental, and in the course of their trade, which was selling these potter earthen jars; and after having carried the raft with them to Cairo, they untie, sell them at the market, and carry the produce home in money, or in necessaries upon their backs.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, they came to the point of an island; there were several villages with date-trees on both sides of them; the ground was overflowed by the Nile, and cultivated. They then came to Halouan, an island now divided into a number of small ones, by calishes being cut through it, and under different Arabic names, they still reach very far up the stream. Mr. Bruce landed to see if there were remains of the olive tree, which Strabo says grew here, but without success. Our travellers imagined, however, that there had been such a tree; because, opposite to one of the divisions into which this large island is broken, there was a village called Zeitoon, or the Olive Tree.

On the 15th of December, the weather being nearly calm, they left the north end of the island; their course was due south, the line of the river; and three miles farther they passed Woodan, and a collection of villages, all going by that name, upon the east.

The Nile is here but shallow, and narrow, not exceeding a quarter of a mile broad, and three feet deep; owing, as he supposed, to the resistance made by the island, in the middle of the currant, and by a bend it

makes, thus intercepting the sand brought down by the stream. The mountains here come down till within two miles of Suf el Woodan, for so the village is called. They were told of some ruins to the westward of this, but only rubbish, neither arch nor column standing.

The wind still freshening, they passed by several villages on each side, all surrounded with palm-trees, verdant and pleasant; but conveying an idea of sameness and want of variety, such as every traveller must have felt who has sailed in the placid, muddy, green-banked rivers in Holland. The Nile, however, is here full a mile broad, the water deep, and the current strong.

They passed with great velocity Nizelet Embarak, Cubabac, Nizelet Omar, Racca Kibeer, then Racca Seguier, and came in sight of Atsia, a large village at some distance from the Nile; all the valley here was green, the palm groves beautiful, and the river deep. Still it was not the prospect that pleased; for the whole ground that was sown to the sandy ascent of the mountains, was but a narrow stripe of three quarters of a mile broad, and the mountains themselves, which bounded this narrow valley, were white, gritty, sandy, and uneven, and perfectly destitute of vegetation.

They kept, as usual, a very good watch all night, which passed without disturbance. Next day, the 17th, was exceedingly hazy in the morning, though it cleared about ten o'clock. It was, however, sufficient to shew the falsity of the observation of an author, who says, that the Nile emits no fogs, and in the course of they voyage the often saw other examples of the fallacy of this assertion.

The 18th, about eight in the morning, they prepared to get on their way; the wind was calm, and south.

After passing Comadreedy, the Nile is again divided by another fragment of the island, and inclines

a little to the westward. On the east is the village Sidi Ali el Courani. It has only two palm-trees belonging to it, and on that account hath a deserted appearance; but the wheat upon the banks was five inches high, and more advanced than any they had seen. The mountains on the east side came down to the banks of the Nile, were bare, white, and sandy, and there was on this side no appearance of villages. The river here is about a quarter of a mile broad, or something more. It should seem it was the Angyrorum civitas of Ptolemy; but neither night nor day could Mr. Bruce get an instant for observation, on account of thin white clouds, which confused (for they scarce could be said to cover) the heavens continually.

They now passed a convent of Cophts, with a small plantation of palms. It was a miserable building, with a dome, and stood quite alone. About four miles from this was the village of Nizelet el Arab, consisting of poor huts. Here began large plantations of sugar-cane, the first they had yet seen; they were then loading with these to carry them to Cairo. Mr. Bruce procured from them as many as he desired. The canes were about an inch and a quarter in diameter, they were cut in round pieces about three inches long; and, after having been slit, they were steeped in a wooden bowl of water. They give a very agreeable taste and flavour to it, and make it the most refreshing drink in the world; whilst, by imbibing the water, the canes become more juicy, and lose a part of their h avy, clammy sweetness, which would occasion thirst. Our traveller was surprised at finding this plant in such a state of perfection so far to the northward. They were now scarcely arrived in latitude 29 degrees, and nothing could be more beautiful and perfect than the canes were.

Sugar, tobacco, red podded or Cayenne pepper, cotton, some species of Solanum, indigo, and a multitude of others, have not as yet their origin well as-

certained. It will be soon difficult to ascertain to each quarter of the world the articles that belong to it, and fix upon those few that are common to all. Even wheat, the early produce of Egypt, is not a native of it. It grows under the line, within the tropics, and as far north and south as we know. Severe northern winters seem, however, to be necessary to it, and it vegetates vigorously in frost and snow. But whence it came, and in what shape, is yet left to conjecture.

Though the stripe of green wheat was continued all along the Nile, it was interrupted for about half a mile on each side of the Coptish convent. These poor wretches know, that though they may sow, yet, from the violence of the Arabs, they shall never reap, and therefore leave the ground desolate.

On the side opposite to Sment, the stripe began again, and continued from Sment to Mey-Moon, about two miles, and from Mey-Moon to Shenuiah, one mile farther. In this small stripe, not above a quarter of a mile broad, besides wheat, clover was sown, which they call Bersine, and cultivate in the same manner as in England.

They next passed Boush, a village on the west-side of the Nile, two miles south of Shenuiah; and, a little farther, Beni Ali, where they saw the mountains on the right or west side of the Nile, running in a line nearly south, and very high. About five miles from Boush is the village of Maniareish, on the east side of the river, and here the mountains on that side end.

The country all round is well cultivated, and seemed to be of the utmost fertility; the inhabitants were better clothed, and seemingly less miserable and oppressed, than those they left behind in the places near Cairo. The Nile was very shallow and the current strong. They touched several times in the middle of the stream, and came to anchor at Baha, about a quarter of a mile above Beni Suef, where they passed the night.

They were told to keep good watch here all night, that there were troops of robbers on the east side of the water, who had lately plundered some boats, and that the cacheff either dared not, or would not give them any assistance. They indeed kept strict watch, but saw no robbers, and were no other way molested.

The 18th they had fine weather and a fair wind. Still Mr. Bruce thought the villages were mean, and the constant groves of palm-trees, so perfectly verdant, did not compensate for the penury of the sown land, the narrowness of the valley, and the barrenness of the mountains. They arrived in the evening at Zohora, about a mile south of Etfa. It consisted of three plantations of dates, and was five miles from Miniet; and there they passed the night.

The wind was so high they scarcely could carry their sails; the current was strong at Shekh Temine, and the violence with which they went through the water was terrible. The rais told Mr. Bruce, that they should have slackened their sails, if it had not been, that he wanted to shew him what she could do.

They passed by a number of villages on the western shore, the eastern seemed to be perfectly unpeopled: and after some time they came to a village called Rhoda, whence they saw the magnificent ruins of the ancient city of Antinous, built by Adrian.

Mr. Bruce asked the rais what sort of people they were in this place. He said that the town was composed of very bad Turks, very bad Moors, and very bad Christians; that several devils had been seen among them lately, who had been discovered by being better and quieter than the rest. The Nubian geographer informs us, that it was from this town Pharaoh brought his magicians, to compare their powers with those of Moses; an anecdote worthy of that great historian.

Our traveller told the rais, that he must, of necessity, go ashore. He did not seem to be fond of the

expedition: but stood directly under the ruins. In a short time they arrived at the landing place; and partly with his naked eye, and partly with his glass, Mr. Bruce was enabled to contemplate them attentively, which filled him with astonishment and admiration. The columns of the angle of the portico of a temple were standing fronting the north; part of the tympanum, cornice, frieze, architrave, all entire, and very much ornamented; thick trees hid what was behind. The columns were of the largest size, and fluted; the capitals Corinthian, and in all appearance entire. He saw indistinctly, also, a triumphal arch or gate of the town, in the very same style; and some blocks of very white shining stone, which seemed to be alabaster.

Mr. Bruce, and those who remained with him in the boat, were on a sudden alarmed by hearing a violent dispute between some who went on shore and the inhabitants. Presently three shots were fired into the boat, when Mr. Bruce cried out in Arabic, "Infidels, thieves, and robbers! come on, or we shall presently attack you:" upon which he immediately fired a ship-blunderbuss with pistol small bullets, but with little elevation, among the bushes, so as not to touch them. The three or four men that were nearest fell flat upon their faces, and slid away among the bushes on their bellies, and he saw no more of them.

They were no sooner out of their reach, than the rais, filling his pipe, and looking very grave, told Mr. Bruce to thank God, that our traveller was in the vessel with such a man as he was, as it was owing to that only he escaped from being murdered ashore. "Certainly, Hassan," said Mr. Bruce, "under God, the way of escaping from being murdered on land, is never to go out of the boat; but don't you think that my blunderbuss was as effectual a mean as your holiness?"

Some of the party were violently exasperated, and

nothing would serve them but to go in again near the shore, and fire all the guns and blunderbusses among the people. But, besides that Mr. Bruce had no inclination of that kind, he was very loth to frustrate the attempts of some future traveller, who might add this to the great remains of architecture preserved already.

At Reremont there are a great number of Persian wheels, to draw the water for the sugar canes, which belong to Christians. The water thus brought up from the river runs downs to the plantations, below or behind the town, after being emptied on the banks above; a proof that here the descent from the mountains is not an optic fallacy, as a former writer says.

They passed Ashmounein, probably the ancient Latopolis, a large town, which gives the name to the province, where there are magnificent ruins of Egyptian architecture; and after they came to Melawé the residence of the cacheff. Mahomet Aga was there at that time with troops from Cairo; he had taken Miniet, and, by the friendship of Shekh Hamam, the great Arab, governor of upper Egypt, he kept all the people on that side of the river in allegiance to Ali Bey.

Our traveller here received about a gallon of brandy, and a jar of lemons and oranges preserved in honey, both very agreeable. Likewise a lamb, and some garden-stuffs. Among the sweet-meats was some horse-raddish preserved like ginger, which certainly, though it might be wholesome, was very unpleasant. Mr. Bruce gave a good square piece of it, well wrapped in honey, to the rais, who coughed and spit half an hour after, crying he was poisoned.

They passed the Mollé, a small village with a great number of acacia trees, intermixed with the plantations of palms. These occasion a pleasing variety, not only from the difference of the shape of the

tree, but also from the colour and diversity of the green.

On the 20th, early in the morning, they again set sail, and passed several villages, till at length they reached Tama, where the wind being contrary, Mr. Bruce went on shore. It is a small town, surrounded, like the rest, with groves of palm-trees. The Nile is here full of sandy islands.

The 21st, in the morning, they came to Gawa, where is the second scene of ruins of Egyptian architecture, after leaving Cairo. Mr. Bruce immediately went on shore, and found a small temple of three columns in front, with the capitals entire, and the columns in several separate pieces. They seemed by that, and their slight proportions, to be of the most modern of that species of building; but the whole were covered with hieroglyphics, representing, as usual, the hawk and the serpent, the man sitting with the dog's head, with the perch, or measuring rod; in one hand, the hemisphere and globes with wings, and leaves of the banana-tree, as is supposed, in the other. The temple is filled with rubbish and dung of cattle, which the Arabs bring in here to shelter them from the heat.

On the 22d, at night, they arrived at Achmim. Mr. Bruce landed with his quadrant and instruments, with a view of observing an eclipse of the moon; but, immediately after her rising, clouds and mists so effectually covered the whole heavens, that it was not even possible to catch a star of any size passing the meridian. Achmim is a very considerable place.

The 24th of December, they left Achmim, and came to the village Shekh Ali on the west, two miles and a quarter distant. They then passed Hamdi, and several other villages; and the next morning, impatient to visit the greatest and most magnificent scene of ruins that are in Upper Egypt, they set out from Beliani, and, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, arrived at Dendera. They had two letters from the bey, to

two very principal men there, commanding them as they would answer with their lives and fortunes, to have a special care that no mischief befel them; and likewise a very pressing letter to Shekh Haman, at Furshout, in whose territory they were.

Dendera is a considerable town at this day, all covered with thick groves of palm-trees, the same that Juvenal describes to have been in his time. A mile south of the town are ruins of two temples, one of which is so much buried under ground, that little of it is to be seen; but the other, which is by far the most magnificent, is entire, and accessible on every side. It is also covered with hieroglyphics, but within and without, of every figure, simple and compound, that ever has been published or called an hieroglyphic; all in relief.

The form of the building is an oblong square, the ends of which are occupied by two large apartments, or vestibules, supported by monstrous columns, likewise covered over with hieroglyphics. Some are in form of men and beasts; some seem to be the figures of instruments of sacrifice, while others, in a smaller size, and less distinct form, seem to be inscriptions in the current hand of hieroglyphics. They are all finished with care.

The capitals are of one piece, and consist of four huge human heads, placed back to back against one another, with bat's ears, and an ill-imagined, and worse executed, fold drapery between them. Above these is a large oblong square block, still larger than the capitals, with four flat fronts, disposed like pannels, that is, with a kind of a square border round the edges, while the faces and fronts are filled with hieroglyphics; as are the walls and ceilings of every part of the temple. Between these two apartments in the extremities, are three other apartments, resembling the first in every respect, only that they are smaller. The whole building is of common white

The top of the temple is flat, the spouts to carry off the water are vast heads of sphinxes; the globes with wings, and the two serpents, with a kind of shield or breast-plate between, are here frequently repeated, such as are to be seen on the Carthaginian medals.

The hieroglyphics have been painted over, and great part of the colouring yet remains upon the stones; red, in all its shades, especially that dark dusky colour, called Tyrian purple; yellow, very fresh; sky-blue; and green or different shades.

A little before our traveller came to Dendera, they saw the first crocodile, and afterwards hundreds, lying upon every island, like large flocks of cattle; yet the inhabitants of Dendera drive their beasts of every kind into the river, and they stand there for hours. The girls and women too, that come to fetch water in jars, stand up to their knees in the water for a considerable time; and, if we may guess from what happens, their danger is full as little as their fear; for none of them, as far as our travellers could learn, had been bitten by a crocodile. However, if the Denderites were as keen and expert hunters of crocodiles, as some historians tell us they formerly were, there is, surely, no part of the Nile where they would have better sport than here, immediately before their own city.

Mr. Bruce having reviewed the ruins, proceeded to Furshout, and went to the convent of Italian Friars, who, like those of Achmim, are of the order of the reformed Franciscans.

Furshout stands in a large and cultivated plain. It is nine miles over to the foot of the mountains, all sown with wheat. Here are, likewise, plantations of sugar-canes. The town is said to contain above ten thousand people; but this computation is perhaps rather exaggerated.

While our travellers were at Furshout, there happened a very extraordinary phenomenon. It rained the whole night, and till about nine o'clock next

morning; when the people began to be very apprehensive lest the whole town should be destroyed. It is a perfect prodigy to see rain here; and the prophets said it portended a dissolution of government, which was justly verified soon afterwards; and at that time indeed was extremely probable.

They left Furshout the 7th of January 1769, early in the morning. They had not hired their boat farther than Furshout; but the good terms which subsisted between Mr. Bruce and the saint, his rais, made an accommodation very easy to carry them farther. He now agreed for four pounds, to carry them to Syene and down again; but, if he behaved well, he expected a trifling premium. "And if you behave ill, Hassan," said Mr. Bruce, "what do you think you deserve?" "To be hanged," said he; "I deserve, and desire no better."

The wind at first was but scant; however, it freshened up towards noon, when they passed a large town called How, on the west side of the Nile. About four o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at El Gourni, a small village, a quarter of a mile distant from the Nile. It has in it a temple of old Egyptian architecture. Mr. Bruce thinks, that this, and the two adjoining heaps of ruins, which are at the same distance from the Nile, probably might have been part of the ancient Thebes.

Nothing remains of the ancient Thebes but four prodigious temples, all of them in appearance more ancient, but neither so entire, nor so magnificent, as those of Dendera. The temples at Medinet Tabu are the most elegant of these. The hieroglyphics are cut to the depth of half a foot, in some places.

A number of robbers, who much resemble our gypsies, live in the holes of the mountains above Thebes. They are all out-laws, and punished with death if elsewhere found. Osman Bey, an ancient governor of Girgé, unable to suffer any longer the disorders committed by these people, ordered a quan-

tity of dried faggots to be brought together, and, with his soldiers, took possession of the face of the mountain, where the greatest number of these wretches were: he then ordered all their caves to be filled with this dry bush-wood, to which he set fire, so that most of them were destroyed; but they have since recruited their numbers, without changing their manners.

About half a mile north of El Gourni, are the magnificent, stupendous sepulchres of Thebes. The mountains of the Thebaid come close behind the town; they are not connected with each other in ridges, but stand insulated upon their bases. A hundred of these, it is said, are excavated into sepulchral, and a variety of other apartments.

Luxor, and Carnac, which is a mile and a quarter below it, are by far the largest and most magnificent scenes of ruins in Egypt, much more extensive and stupendous than those of Thebes and Dendera put together.

There are two obelisks here of great beauty, and in good preservation. The pavement, which is made to receive the shadow, is to this day so horizontal, it might still be used in observation.

At Carnac, they saw the remains of two vast rows of sphinxes, one on the right hand, the other on the left, with their heads chiefly broken off; and, a little lower, a number as it should seem of termini. They were composed of basaltes, with a dog or lion's head, of Egyptian sculpture. They stood in lines likewise, as if intended for an avenue to some principal building.

On the 17th, our travellers left Luxor, and sailed with a very fair wind, and in great spirits. In the evening, they came to an anchor on the eastern shore, nearly opposite to Esné. This is the ancient Latapolis, and has very great remains, particularly a large temple, which, though the whole of it is of the remotest antiquity, seems to have been built at different

times, or rather out of the ruins of different ancient buildings. The hieroglyphics upon this are very ill executed, and are not painted.

On the 18th, they left Esné, and passed the town of Edfu, where there are likewise considerable remains of Egyptian architecture.

The wind failing, they were obliged to stop in a very poor, desolate, and dangerous part of the Nile, called Jibbel el Silselly, where a boom or chain, was drawn across the river, to hinder, as is supposed, the Nubian boats from committing piratical practices in Lower Egypt.

About noon they passed Coom Ombo, a round building like a castle, and then arrived at Daroo, a miserable mansion; unconscious that, some years after, they were to be indebted to that paltry village for the man who was to guide them through the desert, and restore them to their native country and their friends.

On the 20th, they sailed with a favourable wind, and soon came to anchor on the south end of the palm groves, and north end of the town of Syene, nearly opposite to an island in which there is a small handsome Egyptian temple, pretty entire. It is the temple of Cnuphis, where formerly was the Nilometer.

Adjoining to the palm-trees was a very good comfortable house, belonging to Hussein Schourbatchie, the person that used to be sent from that place to Cairo, to receive the pay of the janizaries in garrison at Syene, upon whom too Mr. Bruce had credit for a very small sum.

They passed out at the south gate of the town, into the first small sandy plain. A very little to the left there are a number of tomb stones, with inscriptions in the Cusic character, which travellers erroneously have called an unknown language and letters; although it was the only character known to Mahomet, and the most learned of his sect in the first ages.

After passing the tomb-stones without the gate, they came to a plain about five miles long, bordered on the left by a hill of no considerable height, and sandy like the plain, upon which are seen some ruins, more modern than those Egyptian buildings already described. They seem, indeed, to be a mixture of all kinds and ages.

The distance from the gate of the town to Termissi, or Marada, on the cataract, is exactly six English miles. After the description already given of this cataract in some authors, a traveller has reason to be surprised, when arrived on its banks, to find that vessels sail up the cataract, and consequently the fall cannot be so violent as to deprive people of hearing.

The bed of the river, occupied by the water, was not more then half a mile broad. It is divided into a number of small channels, by large blocks of granite, from thirty to forty feet high. The current, confined for a long course between the rocky mountains of Nubia, tries to expand itself with great violence. Finding, in every part before it, opposition from the rocks of granite, and forced back by these, it meets the opposite currents. The chafing of the water against these huge obstacles, the meeting of the contrary currents one with another, creates such a violent ebullition, and makes such a noise and disturbed appearance, that it fills the mind with confusion, rather than terror.

On the 22d, 23d, and 24th of January, our travellers being at Syene, by means of three observations, Mr. Bruce concluded the latitude of Syene to be 24 deg. 0 min. 45 sec. north.

As Mr. Bruce was now about to launch into that part of his expedition, in which he was to have no farther intercourse with Europe, he set himself to work to examine all his observations, and put his journal in such a state, that the labours and pains he had hitherto been at, might not be totally lost to the pub-

lic, if he should perish in the journey he had undertaken; which, every day, from all information he could procure, appeared to be more and more desperate.

Having finished these, at least so far as to make them intelligible to others, he conveyed them to his friends at Cairo.

On Thursday, the 16th of February, 1769, Mr. Bruce heard the caravan was ready to set out for Kenné, the Cæne Emporium of antiquity. All the way from Kenné, close to their left, were desert hills, on which not the least verdure grew, but a few plants of a large species of solanum, called Burrumbuc.

On the 17th, at eight o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bruce, having mounted his servants all on horseback, and taken the charge of their own camels, they advanced slowly into the desert. There were about two hundred men on horseback, armed with firelocks; all of them lions, if you believed their word or appearance; but our travellers were credibly informed, that fifty of the Arabs, at first sight, would have made these heroes fly, without any bloodshed.

Our travellers road was all the way in an open plain, bounded by hillocks of sand, and fine gravel, perfectly hard, and not perceptibly above the level of the plain country of Egypt. About twelve miles distant there is a ridge of mountains of no considerable height, perhaps the most barren in the world. Between these their road lay through plains, neve three miles broad, but without trees, shrubs, or herbs. There are not even the traces of any living creature, neither serpent nor lizard, antelope nor ostrich, the usual inhabitants of the most dreary deserts. Even the birds seem to avoid the place as pestilential, not one being seen of any kind so much as flying over. The sun was burning hot, and, upon rubbing two sticks together, in half a minute, they both took fire, and flamed; a proof how near the country was reduced to a general conflagration!

At half past three, they pitched their tent near some draw-wells, which, upon tasting, they found more bitter than soot. They had, however, other water carried by the camels in skins. This well-water had only one needful quality, it was cold, and therefore very comfortable for refreshing them outwardly. This unpleasant station is called Legeta; here they were obliged to pass the night, and all next day, to wait the arrival of the caravan of Cus, Esné, and part of those of Kenné and Ebanout.

In the evening arrived twenty Turks from Caramania; all of them neatly and cleanly dressed, mounted on camels, armed with swords, a pair of pistols at their girdle, and a short neat gun. A few of these spoke Arabic, and Mr. Bruce's Greek servant, Michael, interpreted for the rest. Having been informed, that the large tent belonged to an Englishman, they came into it without ceremony. They told Mr. Bruce that they were a number of neighbours and companions, who had set out together to go to Mecca, to the Hadje; and not knowing the language, or customs of the people, they had been but indifferently used since they landed at Alexandria, particularly somewhere about Achmim; that one of the Owam, or swimming thieves, had been on board of them in the night, and had carried off a small portmanteau, with about two hundred sequins in gold; that, though a complaint had been made to the Bey of Girgé, yet no satisfaction had been obtained; and that now they had heard an Englishman was here, whom they reckoned their countryman, they had come to propose, that they should make a common cause to defend each other against all enemies.—What they meaned by countryman was this:—There is in Asia Minor, somewhere between Anatolia and Caramania, a district which they call Caz Dagli, and this the Turks believe was the country from which the English first drew their origin; and on this account they never fail to claim kindred with the English

wherever they meet, especially if they stand in need of their assistance.

Mr. Bruce says, he cannot conceal the secret pleasure he had in finding the character of his country so firmly established among nations so distant, enemies to our religion, and strangers to our government. Turks from Mount Taurus, and Arabs from the Desert of Lybia, thought themselves unsafe among their own countrymen, but trusted their lives and their little fortunes implicitly to the direction and word of an Englishman, whom they had never before seen.

They staid all the 18th at Legeta, waiting for the junction of the caravans, and departed the next day in the morning. Their journey, all that day was through a plain, never less than a mile broad, and never broader than three.

At half past ten they passed a mountain of green and red marble, and at twelve they entered a plain called Hamra, where they first observed the sand red, with a purple cast, of the colour of porphyry; and this is the signification of Hamra, the name of the valley.

Mr. Bruce dismounted here, to examine of what the rocks were composed; and found that here began the quarries of porphyry, without the mixture of any other stone; but it was imperfect, brittle, and soft. He had not been engaged in this pursuit an hour, before they were alarmed with a report that the Atouni had attacked the rear of the caravan. But it soon appeared that they were some thieves only, who had attempted to steal some loads of corn from camels that were weak, or fallen lame.

On the 20th, at six o'clock in the morning, they left Main el Mafarek, and, at ten, came to the mouth of the defiles. At eleven they began to descend, having had a very imperceptible ascent from Kenné all the way.

On the 21st, they departed early in the morning from Koraim, and at ten o'clock, they passed several

defiles, perpetually alarmed by a report, that the Arabs were approaching; none of whom they ever saw.

At length they arrived at Cosseir, a small mud-walled village, built upon the shore, among hillocks of floating sand. It is defended by a square fort of hewn stone, with square towers in the angles, with some small guns, all in very bad condition; and of no other use but to terrify the Arabs.

The port, if we may call it so, is on the south-east of the town. It is nothing but a rock, which runs out about four hundred yards into the sea, and defends the vessels, which ride to the west of it, from the north and north-east winds, as the houses of the town cover them from the north-west. There is a large enclosure with a high mud wall, and, within, every merchant has a shop or magazine for his corn and merchandise: little of this last is imported, unless coarse India goods, for the consumption of Upper Egypt.

Mr. Bruce found, by many meridian altitudes of the sun, taken at the castle, that Cossier is in latitude 26 deg. 7 min. 51 sec. north; and longitude 34 deg. 4 min. 15 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The caravan from Syene arrived at this time, escorted by four hundred Ababdé, all upon camels, each armed with two short javelins. The manner of their riding was very whimsical; they had two small saddles on each camel, and sat back to back.

Mr. Bruce now took up his quarters in the castle, and as the Ababdé had told strange stories about the mountain of emeralds, he determined to make a voyage thither.

He chose a man who had been twice at these mountains of emeralds; and with the best boat then in the harbour, they sailed, with the wind at north-east, from the harbour of Cosseir, about an hour before the dawn of day. They kept coasting along, with a very moderate wind, much diverted with the red and

green appearances of the marble mountains upon the coast. Their vessel had one sail, like a straw mattress, made of the leaves of a kind of a palm-tree, which they call Doom. It was fixed above, and drew up like a curtain, but did not lower with a yard like a sail; so that upon stress of weather, if the sail was furled, it was so top heavy, that the ship must founder, or the mast be carried away. But, by way of indemnification, the planks of the vessel were sewed together, and there was not a nail, nor a piece of iron, in the whole; so that when you struck upon a rock, seldom any damage ensued.

Next morning, Mr. Bruce saw a large high rock, like a pillar, rising out of the sea. At first, he took it for a part of the continent; but, as he advanced nearer it, it appeared to be an island about three miles from the shore, of an oval form, rising in the middle. It seems to be of granite; and is called, in the language of the country, Jibbel Siberget, which has been translated the Mountain of Emeralds.

On the 16th, at day-break in the morning, our traveller took the Arab of Cosseir with him, who knew the place. They advanced above three miles in a perfectly desert country, with only a few acacia trees scattered here and there.

At the foot of the mountain, are five pits or shafts, none of them four feet in diameter, called the Zumrud Wells, from which the ancients are said to have drawn the emeralds. Our travellers were not provided with materials, and little endowed with inclination, to descend into any one of them, where the air was probably bad. Here Mr. Bruce picked up some worn fragments of that brittle green crystal, which is the siberget and bilur of Ethiopia, perhaps the zumrud, the smaragdus described by Pliny, but by no means the emerald, known since the discovery of the new world, whose first character absolutely defeats its pretension, the true Peruvian emerald being equal in hardness to the ruby.

Mr. Bruce having satisfied his curiosity as to these mountains, without having seen a living creature, returned to his boat, where he found all well, and an excellent dinner of fish prepared.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, with a favourable wind and fine weather, they continued along the coast, with an easy sail. They saw no appearance of any inhabitants; the mountains were broken and pointed, taking the direction of the coast, advancing and receding as the shore itself did. They continued this voyage, and after encountering storms that were nearly proving fatal to them, they arrived safe at Cosseir, an the 19th, about the close of the evening.

On the 15th of April, Mr. Bruce, after having made his last observation of longitude at Cosseir, embarked on board a vessel he had procured for the purpose, and sailed from that port. It was necessary to conceal from some of his servants his intention of proceeding to the bottom of the gulph, lest, finding themselves among Christians so near Cairo, they might desert a voyage, of which they were sick before it was well begun.

In the morning of the 6th, they made the Jaffateen Islands. They are four in number, joined by shoals and sunken rocks. They are crooked, or bent, like half a bow, and are dangerous for ships sailing in the night.

On the 9th, they arrived at Tor, a small straggling village, with a convent of Greek monks, belonging to Mount Sinai. Don John de Castro took this town when it was walled and fortified, soon after the discovery of the Indies by the Portuguese; it has never since been of any consideration. It serves now only as a watering-place for ships going to and from Suez. From this we have a distinct view of the points of the mountains Horeb and Sinai, which appear behind and above the others, their tops being often covered with snow in winter.

The rais, having dispatched his business, was eager

to depart; and, accordingly, on the 11th of April, at day-break, they stood out of the Harbour of Tor.

Next day, they sailed from Cape Mahomet, just as the sun appeared. They passed the Island of Tyrone, in the mouth of the Elanitic Gulph, which divides it near equally into two. The direction of the gulph is nearly north and south.

On the 15th, they came to an anchor at El Har, where they saw high, craggy, and broken mountains, called the mountains of Ruddua. These abound with springs of water; all sorts of Arabian and African fruits grow here in perfection, and every kind of vegetable that they will take the pains to cultivate. It is the paradise of the people of Yambo; those of any substance have country houses there; but, strange to tell, they stay there but for a short time, and prefer the bare, dry, and burning sands about Yambo, to one of the finest climates, and most verdant pleasant countries, that exists in the world.

On the 16th, about ten o'clock, they passed a mosque, or shekh's tomb on the main land, on their left hand, called Kubbet Yambo, and before eleven they anchored in the mouth of the port in deep water. Yambo, corruptly called Imbo, is an ancient city, now dwindled to a paltry village. Yambo, in the language of the country, signifies a fountain or spring, a very copious one of excellent water being found there among the date trees; and it is one of the stations of the Emir Hadje in going to, and coming from Mecca.

The many delays of loading the wheat, the desire of doubling the quantity Mr. Bruce had been permitted to take, detained him at Yambo till the 27th of April, very much against his inclination. For he was not a little uneasy at thinking among what a banditti he lived, whose daily wish was to rob and murder him, from which they were restrained by fear only; and this, a fit of drunkenness, or a piece of

bad news, such as a report of Ali Bey's death, might remove in a moment. However, they were allowed to want nothing. A sheep, some bad beer, and some very good wheat bread, were delivered to them every day from the aga, which, with dates and honey, and a variety of presents from those that Mr. Bruce attended as a physician, made them pass their time comfortably enough; they went frequently in the boats to fish at sea, and, as our travellers had brought with him three fizgigs of different sizes, with the proper lines, he seldom returned without killing four or five dolphins. The sport with the line was likewise excellent.

On the 28th of April, in the morning, they sailed with a cargo of wheat that did not belong to them, and three passengers, instead of one, for whom only Mr. Bruce had undertaken. After touching at different islands, on the 3d of May, they arrived at Jidda, close upon the quay, where the officers of the custom-house immediately took possession of their baggage.

The port of Jidda is very extensive, consisting of numberless shoals, small islands, and sunken rocks, with channels, however, between them, and deep water.

Of all the new things Mr. Bruce had yet seen, what most astonished him was, the manner in which trade was carried on at this place. Nine ships were there from India; some of them worth, perhaps, two hundred thousand pounds. One merchant, perhaps a Turk, living at Mecca, thirty hours journey off, where no Christian dare go, offers to purchase the cargoes of four out of nine of these ships himself; another, of the same cast, comes and says, he will buy none, unless he has them all. The samples are shewn, and the cargoes of the whole nine ships are carried into the wildest part of Arabia, by men with whom one would not wish to trust ourselves alone in the field. This is not all, two India brokers come into the room to settle the price. One on the part of the India captain, the other on the part of the

buyer, the Turk. They are neither Mahometans nor Christians, but have credit with both. They sit down on the carpet, and take an India shawl, which they carry on their shoulders, like a napkin, and spread it over their hands. They talk, in the mean time, on different subjects, of the arrival of ships from India, or of the news of the day, as if they were employed in no serious business whatever. After about twenty minutes spent in handling each others fingers below the shawl, the bargain is concluded, say for nine ships, without one word ever having been spoken on the subject, or pen or ink used in any shape whatever. Yet, there never was one instance of a dispute happening in these sales.

Matters are to be carried still farther, and the money is to be paid. A private Moor, who has nothing to support him but his character, becomes responsible for the payment of these cargoes. This man delivers a number of coarse hempen bags, full of what is supposed to be money. He marks the contents upon the bag, and puts his seal upon the string that ties the mouth of it. This is received for what is marked upon it, without any one ever having opened one of the bags, and, in India, it is current for the value marked upon it, as long as the bag lasts.

Jidda, as well as all the east coast of the Red Sea, is very unwholesome. Immediately without the gate of that town, to the eastward, is a desert plain filled with the huts of the Bedowéens, or country Arabs, built of long bundles of spartum, or bent grass, put together like fascines. These Bedowéens supply Jidda with milk and butter.

This place, besides being in the most unwholesome part of Arabia, is, at the same time, in the most barren and desert situation. This, and many other inconveniences, under which it labours, would, probably, have occasioned its being abandoned altogether, were it not for its vicinity to Mecca, and the great and sudden influx of wealth from the India

trade, which, once a year, arrives in this port. Very little advantage, however, accrues to Jidda. The customs are all immediately sent to a needy sovereign, and a hungry set of relations, dependents, and ministers at Mecca. The gold is returned in bags and boxes, and passes on as rapidly to the ships as the goods do to the market, and leaves as little profit behind. In the mean time, provisions rise to a prodigious price, and this falls upon the townsmen, while all the profit of the traffic is in the hands of strangers; most of whom, after the market is over, retire to Yemen, and other neighbouring countries, which abound in every sort of provision.

Though Jidda is the country of their prophet, yet nowhere are their so many unmarried women, and the permission of marrying four wives was allowed in this district in the first instance, and afterwards communicated to all the tribes. But Mahomet, in his permission of plurality of wives, seems constantly to have been on his guard, against suffering that, which was intended for the welfare of his people, from operating in a different manner. He did not permit a man to marry more wives than he could maintain. He was interested for the rights and the ranks of these women; and the man, so marrying, was obliged to shew before the cadi, or some equivalent officer, or judge, that it was in his power to support them, according to their birth. It was not so with concubines, with women who were purchased, or who were taken in war. Every man enjoyed these at his pleasure, and their peril, that is, whether he was able to maintain them or not. From the great scarcity of provisions, few inhabitants of Jidda can avail themselves of the privilege granted them by Mahomet: and from this cause arises the want of people, and the large number of unmarried women.

The kindness and attention Mr. Bruce here received from his countrymen, did not leave him as long as he was on shore. They all did him the honour to

attend him to the water edge. All the quay of Jidda was lined with people to see the English salute, and along with his vessel there parted, at the same time, one bound to Masuah, which carried Mahomet Abd el Cader, governor of Dahalac, over to his government.

Jidda is in latitude 28 deg. 0 min. 1 sec. north, and in longitude 39 deg. 16 min. 45 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich. The weather there had few changes, and the general wind was north-west, or more northerly. Once in twelve or fourteen days, perhaps, they had a south wind, which was always dry.

On the 8th of July, 1769, Mr. Bruce sailed from the harbour of Jidda on board the same vesssel as before, and suffered the rais to take a small loading for his own account, upon condition that he was to carry no passengers. The wind was fair, and they sailed through the English fleet at their anchors. As they had all honoured our traveller with their regret at parting, and accompanied him to the shore, the rais was surprised to see the respect paid to his little vessel as it passed under the huge sterns, every one hoisting his colours, and saluting it with eleven guns.

At a quarter past eight, on the 11th, they were towed to their anchorage in the harbour of Konfodah. It is a small village, consisting of about two hundred miserable houses, built with green wood, and covered with mats, made of the doom of palm-tree, lying on a bay, or rather a shallow bason, in a desert waste or plain. Behind the town are large hillocks of white sand.

Kofodah is in latitude 19 deg. 7 min. north. It is one of the most unwholesome parts on the Red Sea; provision is very dear and bad, and the water execrable. Goats flesh is the only meat, and that very dear and lean.

At five in the afternoon of the 14th, they passed

Ras Heli, which is the boundary between Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the Hejaz, or province of Mecca, the first belonging to the iman, or king of Sana, the other to the sherriffe.

Every part of the sandy desert, at the foot of the mountains, is called Tehama, which extends to Mocha. It is the Tema of Scripture, and derives its name from Taami in Arabic, which signifies the sea-coast. There is little water here, as it never rains; and there are no animals but the gazel, or antelope.

On the 18th, at seven in the morning, they first discovered the mountains, under which lies the town of Loheia. This city is built upon the south-west side of a peninsula, surrounded every where, but on the east, by the sea. In the middle of this neck there is a small mountain, which serves for a fortress, and there are towers with cannon, which reach across on each side of the hill to the shore. At Loheia they had a very uneasy sensation, a kind of prickling came into their legs, which were bare, occasioned by the salt effluvia, or steams, from the earth, which all about the town, and farther to the south, is strongly impregnated with that mineral. Fish and butchers meat, and indeed all sorts of provision, are plentiful and reasonable at Loheia, but the water is bad. There is also plenty of fruit brought from the mountains by the Bedowé, who live in the skirts of the town, and supply it with milk, firewood, and fruit.

The government of the iman is much more gentle than any Moorish government in Arabia or Africa; the people too are of gentler manners, the men, from early ages, being accustomed to trade. The women at Loheia are as solicitous to please as those of the most polished nations in Europe; and, though very retired, whether married or unmarried, they are not less careful of their dress and persons. At home they were nothing but a long shift of fine cotton cloth, suitable to their quality. They dye their feet

and hands with henna, not only for ornament, but as an astringent, to keep them dry from sweat; they wear their own hair, which is plaited, and falls in long tails behind.

On the 27th, in the evening, they parted from Lohcia, but were obliged to tow the boat out. After passing some dangerous shoals, on the 30th, at seven o'clock in the morning, with a gentle, but steady wind at west, they sailed for the mouth of the Indian Ocean. The rais became more lively and bolder as he approached his own coast, and offered to carry Mr. Bruce for nothing, if he would go home with him to Sheher.

The coast of Arabia, all along from Mocha to the straights, is bold, close to which you may run without danger night or day. They continued their course within a mile of the shore, where, in some places, there appeared to be small woods, in others a flat bare country, bounded with mountains at a considerable distance. About four in the afternoon they saw the mountain which forms one of the capes of the Straights of Babelmandel, in shape resembling a gunner's quoin.

The 31st, at nine in the morning, they came to an anchor above Jibble Raban, or Pilots Island, just under the cape, which, on the Arabian side, forms the north entrance of the straights. After getting within the straights, the channel is divided into two, by the Island of Perim, otherwise called Mehum. The inmost and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian shore, is two leagues broad at most, and from twelve to seventeen fathoms of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathoms. From this, the coast on both sides runs nearly in a north-west direction, widening as it advances, and the Indian Ocean grows straighter.

On the 2d of August, at sun-rise, they saw land ahead, which, upon a nearer approach, they found

to be two low islands to the leeward; one of which they fetched with great difficulty. Here they landed to refresh themselves. Having made several large fires; one took the charge of the coffee, another boiled the rice; they killed four turtles; made ready a dolphin; got beer, wine, and brandy, and drank the king's health in earnest, which their regimen would not allow them to do in the Straights of Babelmandel. While this good cheer was preparing, Mr. Bruce saw with his glass, first one man running along the coast westward, who did not stop; about a quarter of an hour after, another upon a camel, walking at the ordinary pace, who dismounted just opposite to them, and, as he thought, kneeled down to say his prayers upon the sand.

Mr. Bruce, after some intercourse with the natives, whose conduct was very suspicious, directed the rais to stand out towards Crab-island, and there being a gentle breeze from the shore, carrying an easy sail, they stood over upon Mocha town, to avoid some rocks or islands.

The wind continuing moderate, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, they passed Jibbel el Ourée, then Jibbel Zekir; and having a steady gale with fair and moderate weather, passing to the westward of the Island Rasab, between that and some other islands to the the north-east, where the wind turned contrary, they arrived at Loheia, the 6th, in the morning.

Every thing being prepared for our travellers departure, they sailed from Loheia on the 3d of September, 1769, for Masuah.

An Abyssinian, who died on board, and who had been buried upon their coming out from Loheia Bay, had been seen upon the bowsprit for two nights, and had terrified the sailors very much; even the rais had been not a little alarmed; and, though he could not directly say that he had seen him, yet, after Mr. Bruce was in bed on the 7th, he complained seriously

to him of the bad consequences it would produce, if a gale of wind was to rise, and the ghost was to keep his place there; he desired him to come forward and speak to him. "My good rais, (said Mr. Bruce) I am exceedingly tired, and my head aches much with the sun, which hath been violent to day. You know the Abyssinian paid for his passage, and, if he did not over-load the ship, I do not think, that in justice or equity, either you or I can hinder the ghost from continuing his voyage to Abyssinia, as we cannot judge what serious business he may have there." The rais began to bless himself that he did not know any thing of his affairs.—"Then, said Mr. Bruce, if you do not find he makes the vessel too heavy before, do not molest him; because, certainly, if he was to come into any other part of the ship, or if he was to insist to sit in the middle of you, he would be a greater inconvenience to you than in his present post." The rais began again to bless himself, repeating a verse of the Koran; "bismilla sheitan rejem," in the name of God keep the devil far from me. "Now rais, said Mr. Bruce, if he does us no harm, you will let him ride upon the bowsprit till he is tired, or till he comes to Masuah; for I swear to you, unless he hurts or troubles us, I do not think I have any obligation to get out of my bed to molest him; only see that he carries nothing off with him."

The rais now seemed to be exceedingly offended, and said, for his part, he did not care for his life more than any other man on board; if it was not from fear of a gale of wind, he might ride on the bowsprit and be d—n'd; but that he had always heard, learned people could speak to ghosts. "Will you be so good, rais, replied our traveller, to step forward, and tell him, that I am going to drink coffee, and should be glad if he would walk into the cabin, and say any thing he has to communicate to me, if he is a Christian; and if not, to Mahomet Gibberti." The rais went out, but, as Mr. Bruce's servant told him, he would neither go himself, nor could he get any person

to go to the ghost for him. However, here the matter ended for the present. He was, indeed, seen again some time afterwards, and was said to have robbed several of the passengers of part of their property. Mr. Bruce, however, found out, that it was not the ghost, but some of the sailors who were the thieves, and, after this detection, the ghost was never more heard of.

On the 11th, about seven in the evening, they struck upon a reef of coral rocks. Arabs are cowards in all sudden dangers; for they consider every accident as the will of Providence, and therefore not to be avoided. The Arab sailors were for immediately taking to the boat; while the Abyssinians were for cutting up the planks and wood of the inside of the vessel, and making her a raft. A violent dispute ensued, and after that a battle, when night overtook them, still fast upon the rock. The rais and Yasine, however, calmed the riot, when Mr. Bruce begged the passengers would hear him. "You all know, said he, or should know, that the boat is mine; as I bought it with my money, for the safety and accommodation of myself and servants; you know, likewise, that I and my men are well armed, while you are naked; therefore, do not imagine, that we will suffer any of you to enter that boat, and save your lives at the expence of ours. On this vessel of the rais is your independence, in it you are to be saved or to perish; therefore all hands to work, and get the vessel off while it is calm; if it had been materially damaged, she had been sunk before now." They all seemed, on this, to take courage, and said, they hoped he would not leave them. He told them, if they would be men, he would not leave them while there was a bit of the vessel together.

The boat was immediately launched, and one of Mr. Bruce's servants, the rais, and two sailors, were put on board. They were soon upon the bank, where the two sailors got out, who cut their feet at

first upon the white coral, but afterwards got firmer footing. They attempted to push the ship backwards but she would not move. Poles and handspikes were tried in order to stir her but these were not long enough. In a word, there was no appearance of getting her off before morning, when they knew the wind would rise, and it was to be feared she would then be dashed to pieces. Other efforts were then used, and a great cry was set up, that she began to move. A little after, a gentle wind just made itself felt from the east, and the cry from the rais was, "Hoist the foresail and put it aback." This being immediately done, and a gentle breeze filling the foresail at the time they all pushed, and the vessel slid gently off, free from the shoal. Mr. Bruce did not partake of the joy so suddenly as the others did. He had always some fears a plank might have been started; but they saw the advantage of a vessel being sewed, rather than nailed together, as she not only was unhurt, but made very little water.

On the 19th of September, at five in the afternoon, they came to an anchor in the harbour of Massuah, having been seventeen days on their passage, including the day they first went on board, though this voyage, with a favourable wind, is generally made in three. Yet this delay must not be wholly attributed to the weather, as they spent much time in surveying islands.

Massuah, or the Harbour of the Shepherds, is a small island on the Abyssinian shore, having an excellent harbour, and water deep enough for ships of any size, where they may ride in the utmost security, from whatever point, or with whatever degree of strength the wind blows. The island itself is very small, scarce three quarters of a mile in length, and about half that in breadth; one third of which is occupied by houses, another by cisterns to receive the rain-water, and the last is reserved for burying the dead.

This island was a place of much resort as long as commerce flourished; but it fell into obscurity very suddenly after the Turks put the finishing hand to the ruin of the Indian trade in the Red Sea, begun some years before, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlements made by the Portuguese on the continent of India.

As it was evening when they arrived here, Mr. Bruce thought it adviseable to sleep on board that night, that he might have a whole day before him, and receive in the night any intelligence from friends, who might not chuse to venture to come openly to see him and his company; at least before the determination of the naybe, the governor of that place, had been heard concerning them.

On the 20th, a person came from Mahomet Gibberti to conduct Mr. Bruce on shore. The naybe himself was at Arkeeko, and Achmet, his cousin and successor, had therefore come down to receive the duties of the merchandise on board the vessel. There were two elbow chairs placed in the middle of the market place. Achmet sat on one of them, while the several officers opened the bales and packages before him; the other chair on his left hand was empty. He was dressed all in white, in a long Banian habit of muslin, and a close-bodied frock reaching to his ancles. This species of dress did not, in any way, suit Achmet's shape or size; but, it seems, he meant to be in gala. Achmet stood up, just as Mr. Bruce arrived within arms length of him; when they touched each other's hands, carried their fingers to their lips, then laid their hands across their breasts; our traveller pronouncing the salutation of the inferior "Salam alicum!" Peace be between us; to which he answered, immediately, "Alicum salam!" There is peace between us. He pointed to the chair, which Mr. Bruce declined; but he obliged him to sit down.

In these countries, the greater honour that is shewn

you at first meeting, the more considerable present is expected. He made a sign to bring coffee directly, as the immediate offering of meat or drink is an assurance your life is not in danger. He began with an air that seemed rather serious; "We have expected you here some time ago, but thought you had changed your mind, and was gone to India."—"Since sailing from Jidda, I have been in Arabia Felix, the Gulph of Mocha, and crossed last from Loheia."—Are you not afraid, said he, so thinly attended, to venture upon these long and dangerous voyages?" "The countries where I have been, are either subject to the emperor Constantinople, whose firman I have now the honour to present you, or to the regency of Cairo, and port of Janizaries, here are their letters, or to the sherriffe of Mecca. To you, Sir, I present the sherriffe's letters; and besides these, one from Metical Aga your friend, who, depending on your character, assured me this alone would be sufficient to preserve me from ill usage so long as I did no wrong; as for the dangers of the road, from banditti and lawless persons, my servants are indeed few, but they are veteran soldiers, tried and exercised from their infancy in arms, and I value not the superior number of cowardly and disorderly persons."

He then returned Mr. Bruce the letters, saying, "You will give these to the naybe to-morrow; I will keep Metical's letter, as it is to me, and will read it at home." He put it accordingly in his bosom; and coffee being served, Mr. Bruce rose to take his leave, and was presently wet to the skin by deluges of orange-flower-water showered upon him from the right and left, by two of his attendants, from silver bottles.

A very decent house had been provided; and he had no sooner entered, than a large dinner was sent them by Achmet, with a profusion of lemons, and good fresh water, now become one of the greatest

delicacies in life, and, instantly after, their baggage was all sent unopened; with which he was very well pleased.

On the 21st, in the morning, the naybe came from Arkeeko. He was poorly attended by three or four servants, miserably mounted, and about forty naked savages on foot, armed with short lances and crooked knives. The drum beat before him all the way from Arkeeko to Masuah. Upon entering the boat, the drum on the land-side ceased, and those, in what is called the castle of Masuah, began. The castle is a small clay hut, and in it one swivel gun, which is not mounted, but lies upon the ground, and is fired always with great trepidation and some danger. The drums are earthen jars, such as they send butter in to Arabia; the mouths of which are covered with a skin, so that a stranger, on seeing two or three of these together, would run a great risk of believing them to be jars of butter, or pickles, carefully covered with oiled parchment. All the procession was in the same style. The naybe was dressed in an old shabby Turkish habit, much too short for him, and seemed to have been made about the time of Sultan Selim. He wore also upon his head a Turkish cowke, or high cap, which scarcely admitted any part of his head. In this dress, which on him had a truly ridiculous appearance, he received the caftan, or investiture, of the island of Masuah; and being thereby representative of the grand seignior, consented that day to be called Omar Aga, in honour of the commission.

In the afternoon, Mr. Bruce went to pay his respects to the naybe, and found him sitting on a large wooden elbow-chair, at the head of two files of naked savages, who made an avenue from his chair to the door. He had nothing upon him but a coarse cotton shirt, so dirty, that it seemed all pains to clean it again would be thrown away, and so short that it scarcely reached his knees. He was very tall

and lean; his colour black; had a large mouth and nose; large, dull, and heavy eyes; a kind of malicious, contemptuous smile on his countenance; and was altogether of a most stupid and brutal appearance. His character perfectly corresponded with his figure, for he was a man of mean abilities, cruel to excess, avaricious, and a great drunkard.

Mr. Bruce presented his firman.—The greatest basha in the Turkish empire would have risen upon seeing it, kissed it, and carried it to his forehead; but he did not even receive it into his hand, and pushed it back to our traveller again, saying, "Do you read it all to me, word for word."—Mr. Bruce told him it was Turkish; that he had never learned to read a word of that language.—"Nor I neither," says he; "and I believe I never shall." Mr. Bruce then gave him the other letters he had brought with him. He took them all together in both his hands, and laid them unopened beside him, saying, "You should have brought a moullah along with you. Do you think I shall read all these letters? Why, it would take me a month." He then glared upon our traveller, with his mouth open, so like an idiot, that it was with the utmost difficulty Mr. Bruce kept his gravity, only answering, "Just as you please; you know best."

A silence followed this short conversation, and Mr. Bruce took the opportunity to give him his present, with which he did not seem displeased, but rather that it was below him to tell him so; he then took his leave of the naybe, very little pleased with his reception, and the small account he seemed to make of his letters, or of himself.

The small-pox was raging with such violence at Masuah, that it was feared the living would not be sufficient to bury the dead. The whole island was filled with shrieks and lamentations both night and day. Mr. Bruce had suppressed his character of

physician, fearing he should be detained by reason of the multitude of sick.

The naybe having dispatched the vessel that brought our travellers over; and, as if he had only waited till this evidence was out of the way, he, that very night, sent word, that Mr. Bruce was to prepare him a handsome present. He gave in a long list of particulars to a great amount, which he desired might be divided into three parcels, and presented three several days. One was to be given him as Naybe of Arkeeko; one as Omar Aga, representative of the grand seignior; and one for having passed their baggage gratis and unvisited, especially the large quadrant.

As the assurance of protection Mr. Bruce had received, gave him courage, he answered him, That, having a firman of the grand seignior, and letters from Metical Aga, it was mere generosity should he give him any present at all, either as Naybe or Omar Aga; that he was not a merchant that bought and sold, nor had merchandise on board, therefore had no customs to pay. Upon this he sent for Mr. Bruce to his house, where he found him in a violent fury, and many useless words passed on both sides. At last he peremptorily told our traveller, That unless he had three hundred ounces of gold ready to pay him on Monday, upon his landing from Arkeeko, he would confine him in a dungeon, without light, air, or meat, till his bones came through his skin for want.

On the 29th of October, the naybe came again from Arkeeko to Masuah, and as Mr. Bruce was told, in a very ill humour with him. He soon received a message to attend him, and found him in a large waste room like a barn, with about sixty people round him. This was his divan, or grand council, with all his janizaries and officers of state, all naked, assembled in parliament.

There was a comet that had appeared a few days after their arrival at Masuah, which had been many days visible in Arabia Felix, being then in its perihelion; and, after passing its conjunction with the sun, it now appeared at Masuah early in the evening, receding to its aphelion. Mr. Bruce had been observed watching it with great attention, and the large tubes of the telescopes had given offence to ignorant people. The first question the naybe asked him was, "What that comet meant, and why it appeared?" And before he could answer him, he again said, "The first time it was visible it brought the small-pox, which has killed above one thousand people in Masuah and Arkeeko. It is known you conversed with it every night at Loheia; it has now followed you again to finish the few that remain, and then you are to carry it into Abyssinia. What have you to do with the comet?"

Without giving Mr. Bruce leave to speak, his brother Emir Achmet then said, "That he was informed our traveller was an engineer going to Michael, governor of Tigré, to teach the Abyssinians to make cannon and gunpowder; and that the first attack was to be against Masuah. Five or six others spoke much in the same strain; and the naybe concluded by saying, that he would send Mr. Bruce in chains to Constantinople, unless he went to Hamazen, with his brother Emir Achmet, to the hotwells there, and that this was the resolution of all the janizaries; for he had concealed his being a physician.

After much altercation between Mr. Bruce and the naybe, the latter turned his back, and Mr. Bruce went away exceedingly disturbed, as it was plain his affairs were coming to a crisis for good or for evil. He observed, or thought he observed, all the people shunned him. He was, indeed, upon his guard, and did not wish them to come near him; but, turning down into his own gateway, a man passed close by him, saying, distinctly in his ear,

though in a low voice, first in Tigré, and then in Arabic, "Fear nothing." This hint, short as it was, gave him no small courage.

Upon the 6th, in the morning, while at breakfast, Mr. Bruce was told, that three servants had arrived from Tigré; one from Janni, a young man and slave, who spoke and wrote Greek perfectly; the other two servants were Ras Michael's, or rather the king's, both wearing the red short cloak, lined, and turned up with mazarin-blue, which is the badge of the king's servant, and is called Shalaka. Ras Michael's letters to the naybe were very short. He said the king, Hatzé Hannes's health was bad, and wondered at hearing that the physician, sent to him by Metical Aga from Arabia, was not forwarded to him instantly at Gondar, as he had heard of his being arrived at Masuah some time before. He ordered the naybe, moreover, to furnish him with necessaries, and dispatch him without loss of time.

Masuah, by a great variety of observations of the sun and stars, was found to be in latitude 15 deg. 35 min. 5 sec. and, by an observation of the second satellite of Jupiter, on the 22d of September 1769, its longitude was found to be 39 deg. 36 min. 30 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The island of Masuah is very unwholesome, as, indeed, is the whole coast of the Red Sea, from Suez to Babelmandel, but more especially between the tropics. Violent fevers, called there Nedad, make the principal figure in this fatal list, and generally terminate the third day in death. If the patient survives till the fifth day, he very often recovers by drinking water only, and throwing a quantity of cold water upon him, even in his bed, where he is permitted to lie, without attempting to make him dry, or change his bed, till another deluge adds to the first.

The bark is the most sovereign remedy here; but

it must be given in very different times and manners from those pursued in Europe. Were a physician to take time to prepare his patient for the bark, by first giving him purgatives, he would be dead of the fever before his preparation was completed. The second or third dose of the bark, if any quantity is swallowed, never fails to purge; and, if this evacuation is copious, the patient rarely dies, but, on the contrary, his recovery is generally rapid. Moderate purging is for the most part to be adopted; and rice is a much better food than fruit.

The next common disease in the low country of Arabia, the intermediate island of Masuah, and all Abyssinia, is the tertian fever, which is in nothing different from our tertian, and is successfully treated here in the same manner as in Europe.

Another disease, which may be called endemial, is called Hanzeer, the hogs or the swine, and is a swelling of the glands of the throat, and under the arms. This the ignorant inhabitants endeavour to bring to a suppuration, but in vain; they then open them in several places; a sore and running follows, and a disease very much resembling what is called in Europe the evil.

All the nations in Africa, within the tropics, are wonderfully affected at the smallest eruption or roughness of the skin. A black of Sennaar will hide himself in the house where dark, and is not to be seen by his friends, if he should have two or three pimples on any part of his body. Nor is there any remedy, however violent, that they will not fly to for immediate relief.

The next complaint Mr. Bruce mentions, as common in these countries, is called Farenteit, a corruption of an Arabic word, which signifies the Worm of Pharaoh; all bad things being, by the Arabs, attributed to these poor kings, who seem to be looked upon by posterity as the evil genii of the country which they once governed.

This extraordinary animal only afflicts those who are in constant habit of drinking stagnant water. It appears indiscriminately in every part of the body, but oftenest in the legs and arms. Upon looking at this worm, on its first appearance, a small black head is extremely visible, with a hooked beak of a whitish colour. Its body is seemingly of a white silky texture, very like a small tendon bared and perfectly cleaned. After its appearance, the natives of these countries, who are used to it, seize it gently by the head, and wrap it round a thin piece of silk, or small bird's feather. Every day, or several times a day, they try to wind it up upon the quill, as far it comes readily; and, upon the smallest resistance, they give over for fear of breaking it. Mr. Bruce has seen five feet, or something more, of this extraordinary animal, wound out with invincible patience in the course of three weeks. No inflammation then remained, and scarcely any redness round the edges of the aperture, only a small quantity of lymph appeared in the hole or puncture, which scarcely issued out upon pressing. In three days it was commonly well.

Mr. Bruce himself experienced this complaint. He was reading upon a sofa at Cairo, a few days after his return from Upper Egypt, when he felt in the fore part of his leg, upon the bone, about seven inches below the centre of his knee-pan, an itching, resembling what follows the bite of a muscheto. Upon scratching, a small tumour appeared, very like a muscheto-bite. The itching returned in about an hour afterward; and, being more intent upon his reading than his leg, he scratched it till the blood came. He soon after observed something like a black spot, which had already risen above the surface of the skin. All medicine proved useless; and the disease not being known at Cairo, it was necessary to have recourse to the only received manner of treating it in this country. About three inches of the worm were

wound out upon a piece of raw silk in the first week, without pain or fever; but it was broken afterwards, through the carelessness and rashness of the surgeon, when changing a poultice, on board the ship in which he returned to France. A violent inflammation followed; the leg swelled so as to scarce leave appearance of knee or ankle; the skin, red, and distended, seemed glazed like a mirror. The wound was now healed, and discharged nothing; and there was every appearance of mortification coming on. The great care and attention procured him in the Lazaretto at Marseilles, by a nation always foremost in the acts of humanity to strangers, and the attention and skill of the surgeon, recovered him from this troublesome complaint.

The last Mr. Bruce mentions of these endemial diseases, and the most terrible of all others that can fall to the lot of man, is the elephantiasis, which some have chosen to call the leprosy, or lepra Arabum; though in its appearance, and in all its circumstances and stages, it no more resembles the leprosy of Palestine than it does the gout or the dropsy. During the course of it, the face is often healthy to appearance, and the eyes vivid and sparkling: those affected have sometimes a kind of dryness upon the skin of their backs, which upon scratching, leaves a mealiness, or whiteness; the only circumstance in which it resembled the leprosy; but it has no scaliness. The hair, too, is of its natural colour; not white, yellowish, or thin, as in the leprosy, but so far from it that though the Abyssinians have very rarely hair upon their chin, Mr. Bruce has seen people, apparently in the last stage of the elephantiasis, with a very good beard of its natural colour. The appetite is generally good during this disease, nor does any change of regimen affect the complaint.

Mr. Bruce lays down this as a positive rule of health, that the warmest dishes the natives delighting

are the most wholesome strangers can use in the putrid climates of the Lower Arabia, Abyssinia, Sennaar, and Egypt itself; and that spirits, and all fermented liquors should be regarded as poisons. Spring, or running water, if you can find it, is to be your only drink; and, in any case, filtration through sand is extremely beneficial to purify this essential fluid.

Rice and pillaw are the best food; fowls are very bad; eggs are worse. Greens are not wholesome. All soups or broths are to be avoided; and all game is bad.

It is a custom that, from the first ages, has prevailed in the east, to shriek and lament upon the death of a friend or relation, and cut their faces upon the temple with their nails about the breadth of a sixpence, one of which is left long for that purpose. It was always practised by the Jews, and thence adopted by the Abyssinians, though expressly forbidden bothby the law and the prophets. At Masuah, it seems to be peculiar to dance upon that occasion. The women, friends, and visitors place themselves in a ring; then dance slowly, figuring in and out as in a country dance. This dance is all to the voice, no instrument being used upon the occasion, except the drum. In Abyssinia, too, this is pursued in a manner more ridiculous. Upon the death of an ozoro, or any nobleman, the twelve judges, who are generally between sixty and seventy years of age, sing the song, and dance the figure-dance, in a manner so truly ridiculous that grief must have taken fast hold of every spectator who does not laugh upon the occasion.

In Masuah, it is a general custom for people to burn myrrh and incense in their houses, before they open the doors in the morning; and when they go out at night, or early in the day, they have always a small piece of rag highly fumigated with these two perfumes, which they stuff into each nostril, to keep them from the unwholeseme air.

Their houses are, in general, built of poles and

bent grass, as in the towns of Arabia: but, besides these, there are about twenty of stone, six or eight of which are two stories each; though the second seldom consists of more than one room, and that one generally not a large one.

Situated as Masuah is, in the very entrance of Abyssinia, a very plentiful country, yet all the necessaries of life are scarce and dear. Their quality too is very indifferent. This is owing to the difficulty, expence, and danger of carrying the several articles through the desert flat country, called Samhar, which lies between Arkeeko and the mountains of Abyssinia, as well as to the extortions exercised by the naybe, who takes, under the name of customs, whatever part he pleases of the goods and provisions brought to that island; by which means the profit of the seller is so small as not to be worth the pains and risk of bringing it.

A considerable trade is, nevertheless, carried on at Masuah, narrow and confined as the island is, and violent and unjust as is the government. But it is all done in a slovenly manner, and for articles where a small capital is invested. Property here is too precarious to risk a venture in valuable commodities, where the hand of power enters into every transaction.

On the 13th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Bruce waited upon the naybe. He received him with more civility than usual; or rather with less brutality; for a grain of any thing like civility had never yet appeared in his behaviour. He had just received news, that a servant of his sent to collect money at Hamazen, had run off with it. As our traveller saw he was busy, he took his leave of him, only asking his commands for Habeth; to which he answered, "We have time enough to think of that; do you come here to-morrow."

On the 14th, in the morning, he waited upon him, according to appointment, having first struck his tent, and got all his baggage in readiness. He received him as before, then told him, with a grave air

that he was willing to further his journey into Habesh to the utmost of his power, provided he shewed him that consideration which was due to him from all passengers; that as, by his tent, baggage, and arms, he saw he was a man above the common sort, which the grand seignior's firman, and all his letters testified; less than one thousand patakas offered by him would be putting a great affront upon him; however, in consideration of the governor of Tigré, to whom he was going, he would consent to receive three hundred, upon his swearing not to divulge this, for fear of the shame that would fall upon him abroad.

To this Mr. Bruce answered, in the same grave tone that he thought him very wrong to take three hundred patakas with shame, when receiving a thousand would be more honourable as well as more profitable; therefore he had nothing to do but put that into his account-book with the governor of Tigré, and settle his honour and his interest together. As for himself, he was sent for by Metical Aga, on account of the king, and was proceeding accordingly, and if he opposed his going forward to Metical Aga, he should return; but then, again, he should expect ten thousamd patakas from Metical Aga, for the trouble and loss of time he had been at, which he and the rais would, no doubt, settle with him. The naybe said nothing in reply, but only muttered, closing his teeth, "Sheitan afrit," That devil, or tormenting spirit.

Those friends which Mr. Bruce had made at Masuah, seeing the naybe's obstinacy against their departure, and knowing the cruelty of his nature, advised Mr. Bruce to abandon all thoughts of Abyssinia; for that, in passing through Samhar, among the many barbarous people whom he commanded, difficulties would multiply upon them daily, and either by accident, or order of the naybe, they would be surely cut off. However, our traveller was too well

convinced of the embarrassment that lay behind him, if left alone with the naybe, and too determined upon his journey to hesitate upon his going forward He even flattered himself, that his stock of stratagems to prevent their going was by this time exhausted; and that the morrow would see them in the open fields, free from farther tyranny and control.

On the 15th, early in the morning, Mr. Bruce again struck his tent, and had his baggage prepared, to shew they were determined to stay no longer. At eight o'clock, he went to the naybe, and found him almost alone, when he received him in a manner that, for him, might have passed for civil. He began with a considerable degree of eloquence, or fluency of speech, a long enumeration of the difficulties of their journey, the rivers, precipices, mountains, and woods they were to pass; the number of wild beasts every where to be found; as also, the wild savage people that inhabited those places: the most of which, he said, were luckily under his command, and he would recommend to them to do them all manner of good offices. He commanded two of his secretaries to write the proper letters, and then ordered them coffee.

In the mean time came in a servant, covered with dust, and seemingly fatigued, as having arrived in haste from afar. The naybe, with a considerable degree of uneasiness and confusion, opened the letters, which were said to bring intelligence, that the Hazorta, Shio, and Tora, the three nations who possessed that part of Samhar through which the road led to Dobarwa, the common passage from Masuah to Tigré, had revolted, driven away his servants, and declared themselves independent. He then, as if all was over, ordered his secretaries to stop writing; and, lifting up his eyes, began with great seeming devotion, to thank God they were not already on their journey; for, innocent as he was, when our travellers should have been cut off, the fault would have

been imputed to him. Angry as Mr. Bruce was at so barefaced a farce, he could not help bursting out into a violent fit of loud laughter, when the naybe put on the severest countenance, and desired to know the reason of his laughing at such a time. "It is now two months," answered Mr. Bruce, "since you have been throwing various objections in my way; can you wonder that I do not give into so gross an imposition? This same morning, before I struck my tent, in presence of your nephew Achmet, I spoke with two Shiho just arrived from Samhar, who brought letters to Achmet, which said all was in peace. Have you earlier intelligence than that of this morning?

He was for some time without speaking; then said, "If you are weary of living, you are welcome to go; but I will do my duty in warning those that are along with you of their and your danger, that, when the mischief happens, it may not be imputed to me." "No number of naked Shiho," said Mr. Bruce, "unless instructed by you, can ever be found on our road, that will venture to attack us. The Shiho have no fire-arms; but if you have sent on purpose some of your soldiers that have fire-arms, these will discover by what authority they come. For our part, we cannot fly; we neither know the country, the language, nor the watering-places, and we shall not attempt it. We have plenty of different sorts of fire-arms, and your servants have often seen at Masuah we are not ignorant in the use of them. We, it is true, may lose our lives, that is in the hand of the Almighty; but we shall not fail to leave enough on the spot, to give sufficient indication to the king and Ras Michael, who it was that were our assassins."

Mr. Bruce then rose very abruptly to go away. It is impossible to give any one, not conversant with these people, any conception what perfect masters the most clownish and beastly among them are of

dissimulation. The countenance of the naybe now changed in a moment. In his turn, he burst out into a loud fit of laughter, which surprised our traveller full as much as his, some time before, had done him. Every feature of his treacherous countenance was altered and softened into complacency; and he, for the first time, bore the appearance of a man. He then confessed that the whole was only a pretence to keep them there. "But since you are resolved to go, be not afraid; the roads are safe enough. I will give you a person to conduct you, that will carry you in safety, even if there were danger; only go and prepare such remedies as may be proper for the emir, and leave them with my nephew Achmet, while I finish my letters." This our traveller willingly consented to do, and on his return, he found every thing ready.

Our travellers left Arkeeko on the 15th, taking their road southward, along the plain, which is not here above a mile broad, and covered with short grass. After an hour's journey, Mr. Bruce pitched his tent at Laberhey, near a pit of rain-water. The mountains of Abyssinia have a singular aspect from this, as they appear in three ridges. The first is of no considerable height, but full of gullies and broken ground, thinly covered with shrubs; the second higher and steeper, still more rugged and bare; the third is a row of sharp, uneven-edged mountains, which would be counted high in any country in Europe. Far above the top of all, towers that stupendous mass the mountain of Taranta, probably one of the highest in the world, the point of which is buried in the clouds, and very rarely seen but in the clearest weather; at other times, abandoned to perpetual mists and darkness, the seat of lightning, thunder, and of storm.

In the evening, a messenger from the naybe found them at their tent at Laberhey, and carried away their guide Saloomé. It was not till the next day

that he appeared again, and with him Achmet, the naybe's nephew, who went into the tent, called for coffee, and, while drinking it, said, "You are sufficiently persuaded that I am your friend; if you are not, it is too late now to convince you. It is necessary, however, to explain the reasons of what you see. You are not to go to Dobarwa, though it is the best road, the safest being preferable to the easiest. You will be apt to curse me when you are toiling and sweating ascending Taranta, the highest mountain in Abyssinia, and on this account worthy your notice. You are then to consider, if the fatigue of body you then suffer in that passage is not overpaid by the absolute safety you will find yourselves in. Dobarwa belongs to the naybe, and I cannot answer for the orders he may have given. I have written to my officers there; they will behave the better to you for this; and, as you are strong and robust, the best I can do for you is to send you by a rugged road, and a safe one."

Achmet again gave his orders to Saloomé, and they all rising, said the sedtah, or prayer of peace; which being over, Achmet's servant gave him a narrow web of muslin, which, with his own hands, he wrapped round Mr. Bruce's head, in the manner the better sort of Mahometans wear it at Dixan. He then parted, saying, "He that is your enemy is mine also: you shall hear of me by Mahomet Gibberti."

Thus ended a series of trouble and vexation, not to say danger, superior to any thing Mr. Bruce ever before had experienced, and of which the bare recital will give but an imperfect idea.

On the 16th, in the evening, they left Laberhey; and after continuing about an hour along the grassy plain, the ground becoming dry, firm, and gravelly, they then entered into a wood of acacia-trees, of considerable size.

On the 18th, in the morning, they left their station on the side of a green hill at Hamhammon: fo-

some time, their road lay through a plain, so thick set with acacia-trees that their hands and faces were all torn and bloody with the strokes of their thorny branches. Soon after, they came to the mouth of a narrow valley, through which a stream of water ran very swiftly over a bed of pebbles. It was the first clear water they had seen since they left Syria, and gave them unspeakable pleasure. The shade of the tamarind-tree, and the coolness of the air invited them to rest on this delightful spot, though otherwise, perhaps, it was not exactly conformable to the rules of prudence: as they saw several huts and families of the Hazorta along the side of the stream, with their flocks feeding on the branches of trees and bushes, entirely neglectful of the grass they were treading under foot.

On the 19th, they continued their journey, the road still winding between mountains in the bed, or torrent of a river, bordered on each side with rack and sycamore trees, of a good size. At half past eight o'clock, they encamped at a place called Tubbo, where the mountains are very steep, and broken very abruptly into cliffs and precipices. Tubbo was by much the most agreeable station they had seen; the trees were thick, full of leaves, and gave them abundance of very dark shade. Every tree was full of birds, variegated with an infinity of colours, but destitute of a song; others, of a more homely and more European appearance, diverted them with a variety of wild notes, in a style of music still distinct and peculiar to Africa. It was observable, that the greatest part of the beautiful painted birds were of the jay, or magpie kind; nature seemed, by the fineness of their dress, to have marked them for children of noise and impertinence, but never to have intended them for pleasure or meditation.

On the 20th, they began to ascend the hills, or eminences, which serve as the roots or skirts of the

great mountain Taranta. The road was on each side bordered with nabca, or junep-trees, of great beauty, and sycamores. They found every where immense flocks of antelopes; as also partridges, of a small kind, that willingly took refuge upon the trees: neither of these seemed to consider our travellers as enemies. The antelopes let them pass through their flocks, only removing to the right or to the left, or standing still and gazing upon them till they passed. But, as they were then on the confines of Tigré, or rather on the territory of the Baharnagath, and as the Hazorta were in motion every where removing towards the coast, far from the dominions of the Abyssinians, to which they were going; a friend of their own tribe, who had joined our travellers for safety, knowing how little trust was to be put in his countrymen, advised them by no means to fire, or give any unnecessary indication of the spot where they were, till they gained the mountain of Taranta, at the foot of which they halted.

In the afternoon, they began to ascend the mountain, through a most rocky and painful road, not only from its incredible steepness, but from the large holes and gullies made by the torrents, and the huge fragments of rocks, which, loosened by the water, had been tumbled down into their way. It was with great difficulty they could creep up, each man carrying his knapsack and arms; but it seemed beyond the possibility of human strength to carry their baggage and instruments. The quadrant had hitherto been carried by eight men, four to relieve each other; but these were ready to give up the undertaking upon trial of the first few hundred yards. At last, as Mr. Bruce was incomparably the strongest of the company, as well as the most interested, he and a stranger Moor, who had followed them, carried the head of it for about four hundred yards over the most difficult and steepest part of the mountain, which before had been considered as impracticable by all.

Yasine was the name of that Moor, a person whom our traveller had discovered to be of a most sagacious turn of mind, firm heart, and strenuous nerves: never more distinguished for these qualities than in the hour of imminent danger; at other times remarkable for quietness and silence, and a constant study of his Koran.

They found it impossible to pitch their tents, from the extreme weariness in the exertions they had made. But there were, however, variety of caves near them, which had served for houses to the old inhabitants; and in these they found a quiet and not inconvenient place of repose, the night of the 20th of November.

On the 21st, at half past six in the morning, Mr. Bruce, having encouraged his company with good words, increase of wages, and hopes of reward, they began to encounter the other half of the mountain. His baggage moved much more briskly than the preceding day. The upper part of the mountain was, indeed, steeper, more craggy, rugged, and slippery, than the lower, and impeded more with trees, but not embarrassed so much with large stones and holes. Their knees and hands, however, were cut to pieces by frequent falls, and their faces torn by the multitude of thorny bushes. At last they gained the top of the mountain, upon which is situated a small village, called Halai, the first they had seen since their leaving Masuah. It is chiefly inhabited by poor servants and shepherds, keeping the flocks of men of substance living in the town of Dixan.

The plain on the top of the mountain Taranta was, in many places, sown with wheat, which was then ready to be cut down, though the harvest was not yet begun. The grain was clean, and of a good colour, but inferior in size to that of Egypt. It did not, however, grow thick, nor was the stalk above fourteen inches high. Being very tired, they pitched their tent on the top of the mountain. The

night was remarkably cold, at least appeared so to them, whose pores were opened by the excessive heat of Masuah. The dew began to fall strongly, and so continued till an hour after sun-set; though the sky was perfectly clear, and the smallest stars discernible.

Mr. Bruce killed a large eagle here, about six feet ten inches from wing to wing. The ball having wounded it but slightly, when on the ground, it could not be prevented from attacking the men or beasts near it with great force and fierceness, so that Mr. Bruce was obliged to stab it with a bayonet. It was of a dirty white; only the head and upper part of its wings were of a light brown.

On the morning of the 22d, they left their station on the top of Taranta, and soon after began to descend on the side of Tigré, through a broken and uneven road. After this they began to mount a small hill, from which they had a distinct view of Dixan. They pitched their tent near some marshy ground for the sake of water, and saw here the people busy at their wheat harvest; others, who had finished theirs, were treading it out with cows or bullocks.

At half an hour after four in the afternoon, they came to Dixan. As Halai was the first village, so is this the first town in Abyssinia, on the side of Taranta. Dixan is built on the top of a hill, perfectly in the form of a sugar loaf; a deep valley surrounds it every where like a trench, and a road winds spirally up the hill till it ends among the houses.

Our traveller's baggage had passed the trench, and had reached the low town through which Saloomé had conducted Mr. Bruce, under pretence of getting a speedy shelter from the heat: but he overacted his part; and Janni, his servant, who spoke Greek, giving Mr. Bruce a hint to go no farther, he turned short towards the house, and sat down with his firelock upon a stone at the door. Their baggage quick-

ly followed, and all was put safe in a kind of court, inclosed with a sufficient stone wall.

It was not long till Hagi Abdelcader, Achmet's friend, came to them, inviting Mr. Bruce civilly to his house, and declaring to him the friendly orders he had received from Achmet concerning him; bringing along with him also a goat, some butter, and honey. Mr. Bruce excused himself from leaving Janni's friend, the Christian, where he had first alighted; but he recommended Yasine to him, for he had began to shew great attachment to Mr. Bruce. In about a quarter of an hour came Saloomé, with about twenty men, and demanded our travellers in the name of the naybe, as his strangers: he said they owed him money for conducting them, and likewise for the custom-house dues. In a moment near a hundred men were assembled round Hagi Abdelcader, all with shields and lances, and Mr. Bruce expected to see a fray of the most serious kind. The matter, however, was settled with Saloomé in an amicable manner.

The town of Dixan consists of Moors and Christians, and is very well peopled; yet the only trade of either of these sects is a very extraordinary one, that of selling of children. Nothing can elucidate the footing upon which this trade stands better than a transaction, which happened while Mr. Bruce was in Ethiopia, and which reached Gondar, by way of complaint, from Masuah, and was told him by Michael himself.

Two priests of Tigré, whose names Mr. Bruce has forgotten, had been long intimate friends. They dwelt near the rock Damo. The youngest was married and had two children, both sons; the other was old and had none. The old one reproved his friend one day for keeping his children at home idle, and not putting them to some profession by which they might gain their bread. The married priest pleaded his poverty and his want of relations that could

assist him; on which the old priest offered to place his eldest son with a rich friend of his own, who had no children, and where he should want for nothing. The proposal was accepted, and the young lad, about ten years of age, was delivered by his father to the old priest, to carry him to this friend, who sent the boy to Dixan, and sold him there. Upon the old priest's return, after giving the father a splendid account of his son's reception, treatment, and prospects, he gave him a piece of cotton cloth, as a present from his son's patron. The younger child about eight years old, hearing the good fortune of his elder brother, became so importunate to be allowed to go and visit him, that the parents were obliged to humour him, and consent. But the old priest had a scruple, saying, he would not take the charge of so young a boy, unless his mother went with him. This being settled, the old priest conveyed them to the market at Dixan, where he sold both the mother and the remaining child. Returning to the father, the old priest told him, that his wife would stay only so long, and expected he would then fetch her upon a certain day, which was named. The day being come, the two priests went together to see this happy family; and, upon their entering Dixan, it was found, that the old priest had sold the young one, but not to the same Moor to whom he had sold his family. Soon after, these two Moors, who had bought the Christians, becoming partners in the venture, the old priest was to receive forty cotton cloths, that is, ten pounds sterling, for the husband, wife, and children.

The payment of the money, perhaps the resentment of the family trepanned, and the appearance of equity which the thing itself bore, suggested to the Moorish merchants that there was some more profit, and not more risk if they carried off the old priest likewise. But as he had come to Dixan, as it were, under public faith, in a trade that greatly interested

the town, they were afraid to attempt any thing against him whilst there. They began then, as it were, to repent of their bargain, from a pretended apprehension that they might be stopped and questioned at going out of town, unless he would accompany them to some small distance; in consideration of which, they would give him, at parting, two pieces of cloth to be added to the other forty, which he was to take back to Tigré with him upon his return. The beginning of such expeditions is in the night. When all were asleep, they set out from Dixan, the buyers, the seller, and the family sold; and, being arrived near the mountain where the way turns off to the desert, the whole party fell upon the old priest, threw him down and bound him. The woman insisted that she might be allowed to cut, or tear off the little beard he had, in order, as she said, to make him look younger; and this demand was reckoned too just to be denied her. The whole five were then carried to Masuah; the woman and her two children were sold to Arabia; the two priests had not so ready a market, and they were both in the naybe's house when Mr. Bruce was at Masuah, though he did not then know it.

The naybe, willing to ingratiate himself with Ras Michael at a small expence, wrote to him an account of the transaction, and offered, as they were priests, to restore them to him. But the ras returned for answer, that the naybe should keep them to be his chaplains; as he hoped, some day, he would be converted to the Christian faith himself; if not, he might send them to Arabia with the rest; they would serve to be carriers of wood and drawers of water; and that there still remained at Damo enough of their kind to carry on the trade with Dixan and Masuah.

Our travellers left Dixan, which is situated in latitude 14 deg. 57 min. 55 sec. north, and longitude 40 deg. 7 min. 30 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich, on the 25th of November, descending the very

deep hill on which the town stands. Hagi Abdelcader had attended them thus far before he left them, and the noted Saloomé came likewise, to see if some occasion would offer of doing them farther mischief; but the king's servants, now upon their own ground, began to assume a proper consequence One of them went to meet Saloomé at the bank of the river; and, making a mark on the ground with his knife, declared that his patience was quite exhausted by what he had been witness to at Masuah and Dixan; and if now Saloomé, or any other man belonging to the naybe, offered to pass that mark, he would bind him hand and foot, and carry him to a place, where he should be left tied to a tree, a prey to the lion and hyæna. They all returned, and there our traveller's persecution from the naybe ended.

They remained under a tree, seven feet and a half in diameter, during the night of the 25th. Mr. Bruce says, it will be to him a station ever memorable, as the first where he recovered a portion of that tranquillity of mind, to which he had been a stranger ever since his arrival at Masuah.

On the 26th, at seven in the morning, they left their most pleasant quarters under the tree, and set forward with great alacrity. About a quarter of a mile from the river, they crossed the end of the plain Zarai. Though this is but three miles long, and one where broadest, it was the largest plain they had seen since their passing Taranta, whose top was now covered wholly with large, black, and very heavy clouds, from which they heard frequent peals of thunder, and saw violent streams of lightning. This plain was sown partly with wheat, partly with India corn; the first was cut down, the other not yet ripe.

On the 27th, they continued their journey down a very steep and narrow path between two stoney hills; then ascended one still higher, upon the top of

which stands the large village of Goumbubba, whence they had a prospect over a considerable plain, all sown with the different grain this country produces.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, they had a violent shower of hailstones. Nothing is more common than exaggeration about the size of hail; but, stooping to take up one, Mr. Bruce received a blow from another just under his eye, which he imagined had blinded him, and which occasioned a swelling all the next day.

Yasine, during the four days Mr. Bruce staid at a place called Kello, told him his whole history. It seems he had been settled in a province of Abyssinia, near to Sennaar, called Ras el Feel; had married Abd el Jilleel, the shekh's daughter; but, growing more popular than his father-in-law, he had been persecuted by him, and obliged to leave the country. He began now to form hopes, that, if Mr. Bruce was well received, as he saw in all appearance, he was to be, he might, by his interest, be appointed to his father-in-law's place; especially in case of war. Abd el Jilleel was a coward, and incapable of making himself of personal value to any party: on the contrary, Yasine was a tried man, an excellent horseman, strong, active, and of known courage.

On the 5th of December, they began first to see the high mountains of Adowa, nothing resembling in shape to those of Europe, nor, indeed, any other country besides. Their fields were all perpendicular rocks, high like steeples or obelisks, and broken into a thousand different forms.

They next passed the Mareb, which is the boundary between Tigré and the Baharnagash, on this side. It runs over a bed of soil; is large, deep, and smooth; but upon rain falling, it is more dangerous to pass than any river in Abyssinia, on account of the frequent holes in its bottom They then entered the

narrow plain of Yecha, wherein runs the small river, which either gives its name to, or takes it from it.

The surrounding space bore the marks of the justice of the governor of Tigré. The inhabitants had been long the most incorrigible banditti in the province. He surrounded them in one night, burnt their houses, extirpated the possessors, and would never suffer any one since to settle there.

On Wednesday, the 6th of December, they again proceeded on their journey, and in about three hours travelling on a very pleasant road, over easy hills, and through edge-rows of jessamine, honey-suckles, and many kinds of flowering shrubs, they arrived at Adowa.

Adowa is situated on the declivity of a hill, on the west side of a small plain, surrounded every where by mountains. This plain is watered by three rivulets which are never dry in the midst of summer. The town consists of about three hundred houses, and occupies a much larger space than would be thought necessary for these to stand on, by reason that each house has an inclosure round it of hedges and trees; the last chiefly the wanzey. The number of these trees so planted in all the towns, screen them so, that at a distance, they appear so many woods. The mansion-house of the governor of Tigré, which stands here, is not distinguished from any of the others in the town, unless by its size; it is situated upon the top of the hill, and resembles a prison rather than a palace; for there are in and about it above three hundred persons in irons, some of whom have been there for twenty years, mostly with a view to extort money from them; and, what is the most unhappy, even when they have paid the sum of money which he asks, they do not always obtain their deliverance from his merciless hands; but are kept in cages like wild beasts, and treated every way in the same manner.

What deservedly interested our travellers most

was, the appearance of their kind and hospitable landlord, Janni. He had sent servants to conduct them from the passage of the river, and met them at the outer-door of his house. Mr. Bruce says, he does not remember to have seen a more respectable figure. He had his own short white hair, covered with a thin muslin turban, a thick, well-shaped beard, as white as snow, down to his waist. He was clothed in the Abyssinian dress, all of white cotton, only he had a red silk sash, embroidered with gold, about his waist, and sandals on his feet; his upper garment reached down to his ankles. He had a number of servants and slaves about him of both sexes; and, when Mr. Bruce approached him, he seemed disposed to receive him with marks of humility and inferiority. Mr. Bruce, however, embraced him with great acknowledgments of kindness and gratitude, calling him father; a title he always used in speaking either to him or of him afterwards, when he was in higher fortune, which he constantly remembered with great pleasure.

He conducted them through a court-yard planted with jessamine, to a very neat, and at the same time, large room, furnished with a silk sofa; the floor was covered with Persian carpets and cushions. All round, flowers and green leaves were strewed upon the outer yard; and the windows and sides of the room stuck full of ever-greens, in commemoration of the Christmas festival that was at hand. Mr. Bruce stopped at the entrance of this room; for his feet were both dirty and bloody. Both their clothes and flesh were torn to pieces at Taranta, and several other places; but Janni thought they had come on mules furnished them by the naybe; and he was so shocked at Mr. Bruce's saying, that he performed this terrible journey on foot, that he burst into tears, uttering a thousand reproaches against the naybe for his hard-heartedness and ingratitude, as he had twice, as he said, hindered Michael from going in person and

sweeping the naybe from the face of the earth. Water was immediately procured to wash their feet. And here began another contention: Janni insisted upon doing this himself, which made Mr. Bruce run out into the yard, and declare he would not suffer it. After this, the like dispute took place among the servants. It was always a ceremony in Abyssinia, to wash the feet of those that came from Cairo, and who are understood to have been pilgrims at Jerusalem.

This was no sooner finished, than a sumptuous dinner was brought, exceedingly well dressed. But no consideration or entreaty could prevail upon their kind landlord to sit down and partake with them. He would stand all the time, with a clean towel in his hand, though he had plenty of servants; and afterwards dined with some visitors, who had come out of curiosity, to see a man arrived from so far. It was long before Mr. Bruce cured his kind landlord of these respectful observances, which troubled him very much, nor could Janni wholly ever get rid of them.

Adowa is the seat of a very valuable manufacture of coarse cotton cloth, which circulates all over Abyssinia instead of silver money; each web is sixteen peek long, of one and three quarters width, their value a pataka; that is, ten for the ounce of gold. The houses in Adowa are all of rough stone, cemented with mud instead of water. The roofs are in the form of cones, and thatched with a reedy sort of grass, something thicker than wheat straw. Excepting a few spots taken notice of as they came to Adowa, this was the only part of Tigré where there was soil sufficient to yield corn; the whole of the province besides is one entire rock.

At Adowa, and all the neighbourhood, they have three harvests annually. The first seed time is in July and August; it is the principal one for wheat, which they then sow in the middle of the rains.

In the same season they sow tocusso, teff, and barley. From the 20th of November, they reap first their barley, then their wheat, and last of all their teff. In the room of these they sow immediately upon the same ground, without any manure, barley, which they reap in February; and then often sow teff, but more frequently a kind of vetch, or pea, called shimbra; these are cut down before the first rains, which are in April. With all these advantages of triple harvests, which cost no fallowing, weeding, manure, or other expensive processes, the farmer in Abyssinia is always poor and miserable.

The cattle roam at discretion through the mountains. The herdsmen set fire to the grass, bent, and brushwood, before the rains, and an amazing verdure immediately follows. As the mountains are very steep and broken, goats are chiefly the flock that graze upon them.

On the 10th of January, 1770, Mr. Bruce visited the remains of the Jesuits' convent of Fremona. It is built upon the even ridge of a very high hill, in the middle of a large plain, on the opposite side of which stands Adowa. It rises from the east to the west, and ends in a precipice on the east; it is also very steep to the north, and slopes gently down to the plain on the south. The convent is about a mile in circumference, built substantially with stones, which are cemented with lime mortar. It has towers in the flanks and angles; and, notwithstanding the injury it has suffered, the walls remain still entire to the height of twenty-five feet. It is divided into three, by cross walls of equal height. The first division seems to have been destined for the convent, the middle for the church, and the third division is separated from this by a wall, and stands upon a precipice.

The kindness, hospitality, and fatherly care of Janni never ceased a moment. He had already re-

presented Mr. Bruce in the most favourable light to the Iteghé, or queen-mother, whose servant he had long been, to her daughter Ozoro Esther, and Ozoro Atlash; and, above all, to Michael, with whom his influence was very great; and indeed to every body he had any weight with, his own countrymen, Greeks, Abyssinians, and Mahometans; and, as they afterwards found, he had raised their curiosity to a great pitch.

On the 7th, our travellers set out from Adowa, resuming their journey to Gondar; and on the 18th, in the morning, having passed a hill, through a very rough stony road, they again came into the plain, wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia. The ruins of Axum are very extensive; but, like the cities of ancient times, consist altogether of public buildings. In one square, which Mr. Bruce apprehended to have been the center of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them.

Axum is watered by a small stream, which flows all the year from a fountain in the narrow valley, where stand the rows of obelisks. The spring is received into a magnificent bason of one hundred and fifty feet square, and thence it is carried, at pleasure, to water the neighbouring gardens, where there is little fruit, excepting pomegranates, neither are these very excellent. The present town of Axum stands at the foot of the hill, and may have about six hundred houses. There are several manufactures of coarse cotton cloth; and here too the best parchment is made of goats' skins, which is the ordinary employment of the monks. On the 19th of January, by a meridian altitude of the sun, and a mean of several altitudes of stars by night, Mr. Bruce found the latitude of Axum to be 14 deg. 6 min. 36 sec. north.

On the morning of the 20th of January, Mr. Bruce left Axum; the road was at first sufficiently even, through small valleys and meadows; they began to

ascend gently, but through a road exceedingly difficult in itself, by reason of large stones standing on edge, or heaped one upon another; apparently the remains of an old large causeway.

The last part of the journey made ample amends for the difficulties and fatigue they had suffered in the beginning. For the road, on every side, was perfumed with variety of flowering shrubs, chiefly different species of jessamine; one in particular of these, called agam, impregnated the whole air with the most delicious odour, and covered the small hills through which they passed, in such profusion, that they were, at times, almost overcome with its fragrance. The country all round had now the most beautiful appearance, and this was heightened by the finest weather, and a temperature of air, neither too hot nor too cold.

Soon after our travellers had lost sight of the ruins of this ancient capital of Abyssinia, they overtook three travellers driving a cow before them; they had black goats' skins upon their shoulders, and lances and shields in their hands; in other respects were but thinly clothed; they appeared to be soldiers. The cow did not seem to be fatted for killing, and it occurred to our travellers that it had been stolen. This, however, was not their business, nor was such an occurrence at all remarkable in a country so long engaged in war. They saw that their attendants attached themselves in a particular manner to the three soldiers who were driving the cow, and held a short conversation with them. Soon after, the drivers suddenly tript up the cow, and gave the poor animal a very rude fall upon the ground, which was but the beginning of her sufferings. One of them sat across her neck, holding down her head by the horns, the other twisted the halter about her fore-feet, while the third, who had a knife in his hand, got astride upon her belly before her hind-legs, and gave a very deep wound in the upper part of her buttock.

From the time Mr. Bruce had seen them throw the beast upon the ground, he had rejoiced, thinking, that when three people were killing a cow, they must have agreed to sell part of her to them; and he was much disappointed upon hearing that they were not then to kill her, that she was not wholly theirs, and they could not sell her. This awakened Mr. Bruce's curiosity: he let his people go forward, and staid himself, till he saw, with the utmost astonishment, two pieces, thicker and longer than our ordinary beef stakes, cut out of the higher part of the buttock of the beast.

They then set about curing the wound. This too was done not in an ordinary manner; the skin, which had covered the flesh that was taken away, was left entire, flapped over the wound, and was fastened to the corresponding part by two or more small skewers, or pins. Whether they had put any thing under the skin between that and the wounded flesh, Mr. Bruce cannot tell; but at the river side where they were, they had prepared a cataplasm of clay, with which they covered the wound; they then forced the animal to rise, and drove it on before them, to furnish them with a fuller meal when they should meet their companions in the evening.

Mr. Bruce could not but admire a dinner so truly soldier-like, nor did he ever see so commodious a manner of carrying provisions along on the road as this was. He naturally attributed this to necessity, and the love of expedition. It was a liberty, to be sure, taken with christianity; but what transgression is not warranted to a soldier when distressed by his enemy in the field? He could not as yet conceive that this was the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even of priests, throughout all this country. In the hospitable humane house of Jauni, these living feasts had never appeared. It is true they had seen raw meat, but no part of an animal torn from it with the

blood. The first shocked them as uncommon, but the other as impious.

On the 20th, they pitched their tent in a small plain, by the banks of a quick clear running stream, on a spot called Mai Shum. A peasant had made a very neat little garden on both sides of the rivulet, in which he had sown abundance of onions and garlic, and he had a species of pumpkin, which Mr. Bruce thought was little inferior to a melon. This man guessed by their arms and horses that they were hunters, and he brought them a present of the fruits of his garden, and begged their assistance against a number of wild boars, which carried havock and desolation through all his labours, marks of which were indeed, too visible every where. Such instances of industry are very rare in this country, and demanded encouragement. Mr. Bruce paid him, therefore, for his greens; and sent two of his servants with him into the wood, and got on horseback himself.

Amongst them they killed five boars, all large ones, in the space of about two hours: one of which measured six feet nine inches; and, though he ran at an amazing speed near two miles, so as to be with difficulty overtaken by the horse, and was struck through and through with two heavy lances, loaded at the end with iron, no person dared to come near him on foot, and he defended himself above half an hour, till, having no lances left, Mr. Bruce shot him with a horse pistol. But the misfortune was, that after their hunting had been crowned with such success, they did not dare to partake of the excellent venison they had acquired; for the Abyssinians hold pork of all kinds in the utmost detestation; and our traveller was now become cautious, lest he should give offence.

In the course of their journey, Mr. Bruce heard a cry from his servants, "Robbers! Robbers!" He immediately got upon his mule to learn what alarm

this might be, and saw, to his great surprise, part of his baggage strewed on the ground, the servants running, some leading, others on foot driving such of their mules as were unloaded before them; in a word, every thing in the greatest confusion possible. Having got to the edge of the wood, they faced about, and began to prepare their fire-arms. Mr. Bruce now rode immediately up to the tent, and in his way was saluted from among the bushes with many stones, one of which gave him a violent blow upon the foot. At the same instant he received another blow with a small unripe pumpkin, upon the belly. As robbers fight with other arms than pumpkins, when Mr. Bruce saw this fall at his feet, he was no longer under apprehension.

Notwithstanding this disagreeable reception, our traveller advanced towards them, crying out they were friends, and Ras Michael's friends; and desired only to speak to them, and he would give them what they wanted. A few stones were the only answer, but they did no hurt. The top of the tent being now up, two men came forward making great complaints. In short, they found the matter was this: one of the Moors had taken a heap of straw, which he was carrying to his ass, and the proprietor, at seeing this, had alarmed the village. Every body had taken lances and shields; but, not daring to approach, for fear of the fire-arms, they had contented themselves with showering stones from their hiding places, at a distance from among the bushes. Our travellers immediately told them, however, that though, as the king's guest, they had a title to be furnished with what was necessary, yet, they were very well content to pay for every thing without force.

The tent being now pitched, and every thing in order, a treaty soon followed. They consented to sell them what they wanted, but at extravagant prices, which, however, Mr. Bruce was willing to comply

with. But a man of the village, acquainted with one of the king's servants, had communicated to him, that the pretence of the Moor's taking the straw was not really the reason of the uproar, for they made no use of it except to burn; but that a report had been spread abroad, that an action had happened between Fasil and Ras Michael, in which the latter had been defeated; and the country, no longer in fear of the Ras, had indulged themselves in their usual excesses, and, taking them for a caravan of Mahometans with merchandise, had resolved to rob them.

On the 22d, they arrived at Siré, and pitched their tent in a strong situation, in a very deep gully on the west extremity of the town. Siré is situated on the brink of a very steep, narrow valley; and through this the road lies, which is almost impassable. In the midst of this valley runs a brook bordered with palm-trees. The town is built in form of a half moon fronting the plain, but its greatest breadth is at the west end; all the houses are of clay, and thatched; the roofs are in form of cones; as, indeed, are all in Abyssinia. Siré is famous for a manufacture of coarse cotton cloths, which pass for current money through all the province of Tigré, and are valued at a drachm, the tenth part of a wakea of gold, or near the value of an imperial dollar each; their breadth is a yard and a quarter. Besides these, beads, needles, cohol, and incense, at times only, are considered as money. The articles depend greatly on chance, whether they are current for the time or not. Mr. Bruce, on the 22d of January, determined the latitude of Siré to be 14 deg. 4 min. 35 sec. north, and its longitude to be 38 deg. 0 min. 15 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich.

Although Siré is situated in one of the finest countries in the world, like other places, it has its inconveniences. Putrid fevers, of the very worst kind, are almost constant here; and there did then actually

reign a species of these that daily swept away a number of people.

At Siré our travellers heard the good news that Ras Michael, on the 10th of this month, had come up with Fasil at Fagitta, and entirely dispersed his army, after killing ten thousand men. This account, though not confirmed by any authority, struck all the mutinous of this province with awe; and every man returned to his duty for fear of incurring the displeasure of this severe governor, which they well knew would instantly be followed by more than an adequate portion of vengeance, especially against those that had not accompanied him to the field.

On the 24th, they struck their tent at Siré, and passed through a vast plain. All this day they could discern no mountains, as far as the eye could reach, but only some few detached hills, standing separate on the plain, covered with high grass, which they were then burning, to produce new with the first rains.

On the 26th, our travellers met a deserter from Ras Michael's army, with his firelock upon his shoulder, driving before him two miserable girls about ten years old, stark naked, and almost famished to death, the part of the booty which had fallen to his share, in laying waste the country of Maitsha, after the battle. They asked him of the truth of this news, but he would give them no satisfaction; sometimes he said there had been a battle, sometimes none. He apparently had some distrust, that one or other of the facts, being allowed to be true, might determine them as to some design they might have upon him and his booty. He had not, in their opinion, the air of a conqueror, but rather of a coward that had sneaked away, and stolen these two miserable wretches he had with him. Mr. Bruce asked where Michael was. If at Buré? where, upon defeat of Fasil, he naturally would be. He said, no; he was at Ibaba, the capital of Maitsha. Mr. Bruce gave him some flour and

tobacco, both which he took very thankfully; but farther intelligence he would not give.

On the 30th our travellers encamped at Addergey, near a small rivulet, called Mai-Lumi, the river of limes, or lemons, in a plain scarce a mile square, surrounded on each side with very thick wood, in form of an amphitheatre. Above this wood are bare, rugged, and barren mountains. Midway in the cliff is a miserable village, that seems rather to hang than to stand there, scarce a yard of level ground being before it to hinder its inhabitants from falling down the precipice. The wood is full of lemons and wild citrons, from which it acquires its name.

The hyænas this night devoured one of the best of our travellers' mules. They are here in great plenty, and so are lions; the roaring of the latter, in the part of the wood nearest their tent, greatly disturbed their beasts, and prevented them from eating their provender. They had procured from Janni two small brass-bells, such as the mules carry, and had tied these to the storm strings of the tent, where their noise, no doubt, greatly contributed to the safety of their beasts, from these ravenous, yet cautious animals, so that they never saw them; but the noise they made, and perhaps, their smell, so terrified the mules, that in the morning, they were drenched in sweat, as if they had been a long journey. The brutish hyæna was not so to be deterred. Mr. Bruce shot one of them dead on the night of the 31st of January, and on the 2d of February he fired at another so near, that he was confident of killing him. Whether the balls had fallen out, or that he had really missed him with the first barrel, he knew not, but he gave a snarl, and a kind of bark on the first shot, advancing directly upon him as if unhurt. The second shot, however, took place, and laid him without motion on the ground. Yasine and his men killed another with a pike; and such was their determined coolness, that they stalked round about our

travellers with the familiarity of a dog, or some other domestic animal brought up with man.

They were still more incommoded by a smaller animal, a large black ant, little less than an inch long, which, coming out from under ground, demolished their carpets, which they cut all into shreds, and part of the lining of their tent likewise, and every bag or sack they could find. Their bite causes a considerable inflammation, and the pain is greater than that which arises from the bite of a scorpion; they are called gun-dam.

The shum, on the 1st of February, sent his people to value, as he said, their merchandise, that they might pay custom. Many of the Moors, in their caravan, had left them to go a near way to Hauza. Mr. Bruce had at most five or six asses, including those belonging to Yasine. He humoured them so far as to open the cases where were the telescopes and quadrant; or, indeed, rather shewed them open, as they were not shut from the observation he had been making. They could only wonder at things they had never before seen.

After much altercation with the shum, on the 4th of February, in the morning, they left Addergy. While employed in making ready for their departure, which was just at the dawn of day, a hyæna, unseen by any of them, fastened upon one of Yasine's asses, and had almost pulled his tail away. Mr. Bruce was busied at gathering the tent pins into a sack, and had placed his musket and bayonet ready against a tree. A boy, who was servant to Yasine, saw the hyæna first, and flew to Mr. Bruce's musket. Yasine was disjoining the poles of the tent, and, having one half of the largest in his hand, he ran to the assistance of his ass, and in that moment the musket went off, luckily charged with only one ball, which gave Yasine a flesh wound between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand. The boy instantly threw down the musket, which had terrified the hyæna, and made him let

go the ass; but he stood ready to fight Yasine, who, not amusing himself with the choice of weapons, gave him so rude a blow with the tent-pole upon his head, that it felled him to the ground; others, with pikes, put an end to his life. They were then obliged to turn their cares towards the wounded. Yasine's wound was soon seen to be a trifle; besides, he was a man not easily alarmed on such occasions.

What sufficiently marked the voracity of the hyænas was, that the bodies of their dead companions, which our travellers hauled a long way from them, and left there, were almost entirely eaten by the survivors the next morning.

On the 4th of February, they continued their journey along the side of a hill, through thick wood and high grass; then descended into a steep, narrow valley, the sides of which had been shaded with high trees, but in burning the grass the trees were consumed likewise; and the shoots from the roots were some of them above eight feet high, since the tree had thus suffered that same year.

On the 8th, in the morning, they began ascending Lamalmon, through a very narrow road, or rather path, for it scarcely was two feet wide any where. It was a spiral winding up the side of the mountain, always on the very brink of a precipice. Torrents of water, which in winter carry prodigious stones down the side of this mountain, had divided this path in several places, and opened to our travellers a view of that dreadful abyss below, which few heads can bear to look down upon. They were here obliged to unload their baggage, and, by slow degrees, crawl up a hill, carrying them little by little upon their shoulders round their chasms, by which the road was intersected. The mountains grew steeper, the paths narrower, and the breaches more frequent as they ascended; scarce were their mules, though unloaded, able to scramble up, but were perpetually falling; and, to increase their difficulties, which, in such cases,

seldom come single, a large number of cattle was descending, and seemed to threaten to push them all into the gulf below. After two hours of constant toil, at nine o'clock they alighted in a small plain called Kedus, or St. Michael, from a church and village of that name, neither beast nor man being able to go a step farther.

The plain of St. Michael, where they now were, is at the foot of a steep cliff which terminates the west side of Lamalmon. It is here perpendicular like a wall, and a few trees only upon the top of the cliff. Over this precipice flow two streams of water, which run in all seasons. They fall into a wood at the bottom of this cliff, and preserve it in continual verdure all the year, though the plain itself below is all rent in chasms, and cracked by the heat of the sun.

The air of Lamalmon is pleasant and temperate. They here found their appetite return, with a cheerfulness, lightness of spirits, and agility of body, which indicated that their nerves had again resumed their wonted tone, which they had lost in the low, poisonous, and sultry air on the coast of the Red Sea. The sun here is indeed hot, but in the morning a cool breeze never fails, which increases as the sun rises high. In the shade it is always cool.

Lamalmon is the pass through which the road of all caravans to Gondar lies. It is here they take an account of all baggage and merchandise, which they transmit to the negadé ras, or chief officer of the customs at Gondar, by a man whom they send to accompany the caravan. There is also a present, or awide, due to the private proprietor of the ground; and this is levied with great vigour and violence, and, for the most part, with injustice; so that this station, which, by the establishment of the custom-house, and nearness to the capital, should be in a particular manner attended to by government, is always the place where the first robberies and murders are com-

mitted in unsettled times. Though our travellers had nothing with them which could be considered as subject to duty, they submitted every thing to the will of the robber of the place, and gave him his present.

They had obtained leave to depart early in the morning of the 19th, but it was with great regret they were obliged to abandon their Mahometan friends into hands that seemed disposed to shew them no favour. The king was in Maitsha, or Damot, far from Gondar, and various reports were spread about the success of the campaign. These people only waited for an unfavourable event to make a pretence for robbing travellers of every thing they had. The persons whose right it was to levy these contributions, were a father and son; the old man was dressed very decently, spoke little, but smoothly and had a very good carriage. He professed a violent hatred to all Mahometans, on account of their religion; a sentiment which seemed to promise nothing favourable to their friend Yasine and his companions.

The young man, it seems, was a good soldier; and, having been in several actions under Ras Michael, as fusileer, he brought his gun, and insisted on shooting at marks. Mr. Bruce humoured him in this: but as he used a rifle which he did not understand, he found himself over-matched. He then shewed him the manner they shot flying, there being quails in abundance, and wild pigeons, of which he killed several on wing, which left him in the utmost astonishment. Having got on horseback, Mr. Bruce next went through the exercise of the Arabs, with a long spear and a short javelin. This was more within his comprehension, as he had seen something like it; but he was wonderfully taken with the fierce and fiery appearance of his horse, and, at the same time with his docility, the form of his saddle, bridle, and accoutrements. He threw at last the sandals off

his feet, twisted his upper garment into his girdle, and set off at so furious a rate, that Mr. Bruce could not help doubting whether he was in his sober understanding. It was not long, however, before he came back, and with him a man-servant, carrying a sheep and a goat, and a woman carrying a jar of honey-wine. They now swore perpetual friendship; and a horn or two of hydromel being emptied Mr. Bruce introduced the case of his fellow-travellers, and obtained a promise that they should have leave to set out together. He would, moreover, take no awide, and said he would be favourable in his report to Gondar.

Matters were so far advanced, when a servant of Michael's arrived, sent by Petro, Janni's brother, who had obtained him from Ozoro Esther. This put an end to all their difficulties. Our young soldier also kept his word, and a mere trifle of awide was given, rather from the Moor's own desire than by demand, and the report of the baggage, and dues thereon, were as low as could be wished. News was now brought them, that Ras Michael had actually beaten Fasil, forced him to retire to the other side of the Nile, and was then in Maitsha. This was just what Mr. Bruce could have wished, as it brought him at once to the neighbourhood of the sources of the Nile, without the smallest shadow of fear or danger.

On the 9th of February they took leave of the friends they had so newly acquired at Lamalmon.

They began to ascend what still remained of the mountain, which, though steep and full of bushes, was much less difficult than that which they had passed. At a quarter past seven, they arrived at the top of Lamalmon, which has, from below, the appearance of being sharp-pointed. On the contrary, they were much surprised to find there a large plain, part in pasture, but more bearing grain. It is full of springs, and seems to be the great reservoir from whence arise most of the rivers that water this part of Abyssinia. A multitude of streams issue from

the very summit in all directions; the springs boil out from the earth in large quantities, capable of turning a mill. They plough, sow, and reap here at all seasons; and the husbandman must blame his own indolence, and not the soil, if he has not three harvests. They saw, in one place, people busy cutting down wheat; immediately next to it, others at the plough; and the adjoining field had green corn in the ear; a little farther, it was not an inch above the ground.

The mountain is every where so steep and high, that it is not enough to say against the will, but without the assistance of those above, no one from below can venture to ascend. Yet Christopher de Gama and his Portuguese, are said, by their own historians, to have stormed this rock, and put the Mahometan garrison to the sword. No mention, however, of this honourable conquest is made in the annals of Abyssinia, though they give the history of this campaign of Don Christopher in the life of Claudius, Atzenaf Segued.

On the 10th in the morning, they continued along the plain on the top of Lamalmon; and, after having suffered, with infinite patience and perseverance, the hardships and danger of this long and painful journey, at forty minutes past ten they were gratified, at last, with the sight of Gondar, and in the course of the next day arrived there.

Abba Salama, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak, at that time filled the post of Acab Saat, or guardian of the fire. It is the third dignity of the church, and he is the first religious officer in the palace. He had a very large revenue, and still a greater influence. He was a man exceedingly rich, and of the very worst life possible; though he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity, it was said he had at that time above seventy mistresses in Gondar. His way of seducing women, was as extraordinary as the number seduced. When he had fixed his desires

upon a woman, he forced her to comply, under pain of excommunication.

The next morning, about ten oclock, Mr. Bruce, dressed in his Moorish dress, went to Ayto Aylo, and found him with several great plates of bread, melted butter, and honey, before him, of one of which he and our traveller ate; the rest were given to the Moors, and other people present. Soon after they sat out for Koscam, and upon coming in sight of this palace they all uncovered their heads, and rode slowly. As Aylo was all powerful with the Iteghé, indeed her first counsellor and friend, their admittance was easy and immediate. They alighted and were shewn into a low room in the palace. Ayto Aylo went immediately to the Iteghé, or queen, to inquire about Welled Hawaryat, who was then ill, and his audience lasted two hours. He returned to them with the news, that Welled Hawaryat was much better, by a medicine a saint from Waldubba had given him, which consisted in some characters, written with common ink upon a tin plate, which characters were washed off by a medical liquor, and then given him to drink. It was agreed, however, that the complaint was the small-pox, and the good it had done him was, he ate heartily of brind, or raw beef, after it, though he had not eaten before since his arrival, but called perpetually for drink.

Mr. Bruce, before he entered on his charge of physician, stated to those present in the palace, the disagreeable task now imposed upon him. He professed his intention of doing his utmost, although the disease was much more serious and fatal in this country than in his own; but he insisted one condition should be granted him, which was, that no directions as to regimen or management, even of the most trifling kind, as they might think, should be suffered, without his permission and superintendance, otherwise he washed his hands of the consequence.

This being assented to by all present, Mr. Bruce

set the servants to work. He opened all the doors and windows, fumigating them with incense and myrrh in abundance, and washed them with warm water and vinegar. The common and fatal regimen in this country, and in most parts in the east, has been to keep their patient from feeling the smallest breath of air; hot drink, a fire, and a quantity of covering are added in Abyssinia, and the doors shut so close, that candles are necessary to light the apartment.

The infection spread, and the several persons of high rank were seized with the small-pox, most of whom recovered under our traveller's direction.

When then patients were in a state of convalescence, they were removed to a large house of Kasmati Eshté, which stood within the boundaries of Koscam, while the rooms underwent another lustration and fumigation, after which they all returned; and Mr. Bruce got as his fee, a present of a neat and convenient house, formerly belonging to Basha Eusebius, which had a separate entry, without going through the palace.

On the 10th of March, the army marched into the town in triumph, and the ras at the head of the troops of Tigré. He was bareheaded; over his shoulders and down to his back, hung a pallium, or cloak, of black velvet, with a silver fringe. A boy, by his right stirrup, held a silver wand of about five feet and a half long, much like the staves of our great officers at court. Behind him all the soldiers, who had slain an enemy and taken the spoils from them, had their lances and firelocks ornamented with small shreds of scarlet cloth, one piece for every man he had slain. Remarkable among all this multitude was Hagos, door-keeper of the ras. This man, always well armed and well mounted, had followed the wars of the ras from his infancy, and had been so fortunate in this kind of single combat, that his whole lance and javelin, horse and person, were

covered over with the shreds of scarlet cloth. At this last battle of Fagitta, Hagos is said to have slain eleven men with his own hand.

One thing remarkable in this cavalcade, which Mr. Bruce observed, was the head-dress of the governors of provinces. A large broad fillet was bound upon their forehead, and tied behind their head. In the middle of this was a horn, or a conical piece of silver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called kirn, or horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory. This, Mr. Bruce apprehends, like all other of their usages, is taken from the Hebrews, and the several allusions made in Scripture to it arise from this practice:—"I said unto fools, deal not foolishly; and to the wicked, lift not up the horn."—"Lift not up your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck."—"But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn."—"And the horn of the righteous shall be exalted with honour." And so in many other places throughout the Psalms.

Next to these came the king, with a fillet of white muslin, about three inches broad, binding his forehead, tied with a large double knot behind, and hanging down about two feet on his back. About him were the great officers of state, such of the young nobility as were without command; and after these, the household troops. Then followed the Kanizt Kitzera, or executioner of the camp, and his attendants; and, last of all, amidst the king's and the rais's baggage, came a man bearing the stuffed skin of the unfortunate Woosheka upon a pole, which he hung upon a branch of the tree before the king's palace, appropriated for public executions.

About the 14th, Mr. Bruce was informed, that all his recommendatory letters were to be read. In the interim, Mr. Bruce was sent for to the ras, with orders to dispatch a man with the king's present, to wait for him at the palace, whither he was to go

after leaving Michael. Five in the evening was fixed as the hour. Mr. Bruce came a little before the time, and met Ayto Aylo at the door. He squeezed him by the hand, and said, "Refuse nothing, it can be all altered afterwards; but it is very necessary, on account of the priests and the populace, you should have a place of some authority, otherwise you will be robbed and murdered the first time you go half a mile from home; fifty people have told me that you have chests filled with gold, and that you can make gold; or bring what quantity you please from the Indies; and the reason of all this is, because you refused the queen and Ozoro Esther's offer of gold at Koscam, and which you must never do again."

Our travellers went in and saw the ras, who was an old man, sitting upon a sofa; his white hair was dressed in many short curls. He appeared to be thoughtful, but not displeased. He seemed to be about six feet high, though his lameness made it difficult to guess with accuracy. His air was perfectly free from constraint, what the French call *degagee*. They must have been bad physiognomists that did not discern his capacity and understanding by his very countenance. Every look conveyed a sentiment with it: he seemed to have no occasion for other language; and, indeed, he spoke little.

Mr. Bruce sat down with Aylo, three or four of the judges, Heikel the queen's chamberlain, and others, who whispered something in his ear, and went out; which interruption prevented Mr. Bruce from speaking as he was prepared to do, or give him his present, which a man held behind him. The ras began gravely, "Yagoube, I think that is your name, hear what I have to say to you; and mark what I recommend to you. You are a man, I am told who make it your business to wander in the fields in search after trees and grass in solitary places, and to sit up all night alone, looking at the stars of

the heavens. Other countries are not like this, though this was never so bad as it is now. These wretches here are enemies to strangers; if they saw you alone in your own parlour, their first thought would be how to murder you; though they knew they were to get nothing by it, they would murder you for mere mischief." "The devil is strong in them," says a voice from a corner of a room, which appeared to be that of a priest. "Therefore," says the ras, "after a long conversation with your friend Aylo, whose advice I hear you happily take, as, indeed, we all do, I have thought that situation best which leaves you at liberty to follow your own designs, at the same time that it puts your person in safety; that you will not be troubled with monks about their religious matters, or in danger from these rascals that may seek to murder you for money."

"What are the monks?" said the same voice from the corner; "the monks will never meddle with such a man as this." "Therefore the king," continued the ras, without taking any notice of the interruption, "has appointed you Baalomaal, and to command the Kokob horse, which I thought to have given to Francis, an old soldier of mine; but he is poor, and we will provide for him better, for these appointments have honour but little profit." "Sir," said Francis, who was in presence, but behind, "it is in much more honourable hands than either mine or the Armenians, or any other white man's, since the days of Hatzé Menas, and so I told the king to-day." "Very well, Francis, (says the ras) it becomes a soldier to speak the truth, whether it makes for or against himself. Go then to the king, and kiss the ground upon your appointment. Aylo and Heikel are very proper persons to go with you. The king expressed his surprise to me last night he had not seen you; and there too, is Tecla Mariam, the king's secretary, who came with your appointment from the palace to-day." The man in the

corner, whom Mr. Bruce took for a priest, was this Tecklo Mariam, a scribe. Mr. Bruce then gave him a present, after which he soon retired.

Mr. Bruce went afterwards to the king's palace, and met Aylo and Heikel at the door of the presence-chamber. Tecla Mariam walked before them to the foot of the throne; after which, Mr. Bruce advanced and prostrated himself upon the ground. "I have brought you a servant," says he to the king, "from so distant a country, that if you ever let him escape, we shall never be able to follow him, or know where to seek him." To this the king made no reply, nor did he shew any alteration of countenance. Five people were standing on each side of the throne, all young men, three on his left, and two on his right. One of these, the son of Tecla Mariam, who stood uppermost on the left hand, came up, and taking hold of him by the hand, placed him immediately above him; when, seeing Mr. Bruce had no knife in his girdle, he pulled out his own, and gave it to him. Upon being placed, Mr. Bruce again kissed the ground.

The usual questions were now put to Mr. Bruce about Jerusalem and the holy place—where his country was? which it was impossible to describe; as they knew the situation of no country but their own—why he came so far—whether the moon and the stars, but especially the moon, was the same in his country as in theirs? and a great many such idle and tiresome questions. He had several times offered to take his present from the man who held it, that he might offer it to his majesty, and go away; but the king always made a sign to put it off, till, being tired to death with standing, he leaned against the wall. Mr. Bruce was absolutely in despair, and scarcely able to speak a word, inwardly mourning the hardness of his lot in this his first preferment, and sincerely praying it might be his last promotion in that court. However, he was at last permitted to retire.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to give the geographical vdiision of Abyssinia into provinces.

Masuah, one of the provinces in ancient times, was one of the principal places of residence of the Baharnagash, who, when he was not there himself, constantly left his deputy or lieutenant. In summer he resided for several months in the island of Dahalac, then accounted part of his territory. He was, after the king and Betwudet, the person of the greatest consideration in the kingdom, and was invested with sendick and nagareet, the kettle-drum and colours, marks of supreme command.

Tigré is the next province in Abyssinia, as well for greatness, as riches, power, and dignity, and nearest Masuah. It is bounded by the territory of the Baharnagash, that is, by the river Mareb on the east, and the Tacazzé upon the west. It is about one hundred and twenty miles broad, from east to west, and two hundred from north to south.

Siré, a province about twenty-five miles broad, and not much more in length, is reckoned as part of Tigré also. It lost the rank of a province, and was united to Tigré for the misbehaviour of one of its governors, in an expedition against Shangalla in the reign of Yasous the great.

After passing the Tacazzé, the boundary between Siré and Samen, we come to that mountainous province called by the last name. A large chain of rugged mountains, where is the Jews Rock, reaches from the south of Tigré down near to Waldubba, the low, hot country that bounds Abyssinia on the north.

On the north-east of Tigré lies the province of Begember. It borders upon Angot; but the whole province now, excepting a few villages, is conquered by the Galla. It has Amhara, which runs parrallel to it, on the south, and is separated from it by the river Bashilo. Both these provinces are bounded by the river Nile on the west. Begember is about one hun-

dred and eighty miles in its greatest length, and sixty in breadth, comprehending Lasta, a mountainous province, sometimes depending on Begemder, but often in rebellion.

Begember is the strength of Abyssinia in horsemen. It is said, that, with Lasta, it can bring out forty-five thousand men; but this, as far as ever Mr. Bruce could inform himself, is a great exaggeration. They are exceeding good soldiers when they are pleased with their general, and the cause for which they fight; otherwise they are easily divided, great many private interests being continually kept alive, as it is thought industriously by government itself. It is well stocked with cattle of every kind, all very beautiful. The mountains are full of iron mines; they are not so steep and rocky, nor so frequent, as in other provinces, if we except only Lasta, and abound in all sort of wild fowl and game.

Amhara is the next province, between the two rivers Bashilo and Geshen. The length of this country from east to west, is about one hundred and twenty miles, and its breadth something more than forty. It is a very mountainous country, full of nobility; the men are reckoned the handsomest in Abyssinia, as well as the bravest.

Between the two rivers Geshen and Samba, is a low, unwholesome, though fertile province, called Walaka; and southward of that is Upper Shoa. This province, or kingdom, was famous for the retreat it gave to the only remaining prince of the house of Solomon, who fled from the massacre of his brethren by Judith, about the year nine hundred, upon the rock of Damo. Here the royal family remained in security, and increased in number, for near four hundred years, till they were restored.

Gojam, from north-east to south-east, is about eighty miles in length, aud forty in breadth. It is a very flat country, and all in pasture; has few mountains, but those are very high ones, and chiefly on the

banks of the Nile, to the south, which river surrounds the province.

On the south-east of the kingdom of Gojam is Damot. It is about forty miles in length from north to south, and something more than twenty in breadth from east to west.

On the other side of Amid Amid is the province of Agows, bounded by those mountains on the east; by Buré and Umbarma, and the country of the Gongas, on the west; by Damot and Gafat upon the south, and Dingleber on the north.

South from Dembea is Kuara, a very mountainous province confining upon the Pagan blacks, or Shangalla, called Gongas and Guba, the Macrobi of the ancients.

Nara, and Ras el Feel, Tchelga, and on to Tcherkin, is a frontier wholly inhabited by Mahometans. Its government is generally given to a stranger, often to a Mahometan; but one of that faith is always deputy governor. It is a barren stripe of a very hot, unwholesome country, full of thick woods, and fit only for hunting. The inhabitants, fugitives from all nations, are chiefly Mahometans, but very bold and expert horsemen.

There are many other small provinces, which occasionally are annexed, and sometimes are separated; hence it is impossible to give a correct geographical view of them.

The crown of Abyssinia is hereditary, and has always been so, in one particular family, supposed to be that of Solomon by the queen of the south. It is, nevertheless, elective in this line; and there is no law of the land, or custom, which gives the eldest son an exclusive title to succeed his father.

The practice has, indeed, been quite the contrary. When, at the death of a king, his sons are old enough to govern, and, by some accident, not yet sent prisoners to the Mountain of Wechné, where they are educated and confined, then the eldest, not confined,

generally takes possession of the throne by the strength of his father's friends; but if no heir is then in the low country, the choice of the king is always according to the will of the minister, which passes for that of the people; and his inclination and interest being to govern, he never fails to chuse an infant, whom he afterwards directs, during the minority.

From this flow all the misfortunes of this unhappy country. This very defect arises from a desire to institute a more than ordinary perfect form of government; for the Abyssinians' first position was, "Woe be to the kingdom whose king is a child;" and this they know must often happen when succession is left to the course of nature. But when there was a choice to be made out of two hundred persons, all of the same family, all capable of reigning, it was their own fault, they thought, if they had not always a prince of a proper age and qualification to rule the kingdom. But this mode of reasoning experience has proved fallacious.

The king is anointed with plain oil of olives, which, being poured upon the crown of his head, he rubs it into his long hair, indecently enough, with both his hands.

The crown is made in the shape of a priest's mitre, or head-piece; it is a kind of helmet, covering the king's forehead, cheeks, and neck. It is lined with blue taffety; the outside is half gold and half silver, of the most beautiful fillagrane work. The king goes to church regularly, his guards taking possession of every avenue and door through which he is to pass, and nobody is allowed to enter with him, because he is then on foot, excepting two officers of his bed-chamber who support him. He kisses the threshold and side posts of the church door, the steps before the altar, and then returns home: sometimes there is service in the church, sometimes there is not; but he takes no notice of the difference. He rides up stairs into the presence chamber on a mule, and lights

immediately on the carpet before his throne; and Mr. Bruce has sometimes seen great indecencies committed by the said mule in the presence chamber, upon a Persian carpet.

The Serach Massery, an officer so called, with a long whip, begins cracking and making a noise, worse than twenty French postillions, at the door of the palace before the dawn of day. This chases away the hyæna and other wild beasts; this, too, is the signal for the king's rising, who sits in judgment every morning fasting, and after that, about eight o'clock, he goes to breakfast.

There are six noblemen of the king's own chusing, who are called Baalmaal, or gentlemen of his bed-chamber; four of these are always with him. There is a seventh, who is the chief of these, called Azeleffa el Camisha, groom of the robe, or stole. He is keeper of the king's wardrobe, and the first officer of the bed-camber. These officers, the black slaves, and some others, serve him as menial servants, and are in a degree of familiarity with him unknown to the rest of the subjects.

When the king sits to consult upon civil matters of consequence, he is shut up in a kind of box opposite to the head of the council table. The persons that deliberate sit at the table, and, according to their rank, give their voices, the youngest or lowest officer always speaking first. The first that give their votes are the shalaka, or colonels of the household troops. The second are the great butlers, men that have the charge of the king's drink. The third is the badjerund, or keeper of that apartment in the palace, called the lion's house; and after these the keeper of the banqueting house. The next is called lika magwass, an officer that always goes before the king to hinder the pressure of the crowd. After the lika magwass comes the palambaras; after him the fit-auraris; then the gera kasmati, and the kanya kasmati; after them the dakakin billetana geeta, or the under

chamberlain; then the secretary for the king's commands; after him the right and left azages, or generals; after them rak massery; after him the basha; after him kasmati of Damot, then of Samen, then Amhara, and, last of all, Tigré, before whom stands a golden cup upon a cushion, and he is called Nebrit, as being governor of Axum, or keeper of the book of the law supposed to be there.

After the governor of Tigré comes the acab saat, or guardian of the fire, and the chief ecclesiastical officer of the king's household.

After the acab saat comes the first master of the household; then the betwudet, or rais; last of all the king gives his sentence, which is final, and sends it to the table, from the balcony where he is then sitting, by the officer called Kal-Hatzé.

It is the constant practice in Abyssinia to beset the king's doors and windows within his hearing, and there, from early morning to night, to cry for justice as loud as possible, in a distressed and complaining tone, and in all the different languages they are masters of, in order to their being admitted to have their supposed grievances heard. In a country so ill governed as Abyssinia is, and so perpetually involved in war, it may be easily supposed there is no want of people, who have real injuries and violence to complain of. But if it were not so, this is so much the constant usage, that when it happens, as in the midst of the rainy season; that few people can approach the capital, a set of vagrants are provided, maintained, and paid, whose sole business it is to cry and lament, as if they had been really very much injured and oppressed; and this they tell you is for the king's honour, that he may not be lonely by the palace being too quiet. This of all their absurd customs, was the most grievous and troublesome to Mr. Bruce. Sometimes, while he was busy in his room in the rainy season, he was entertained with a concert of complaints, sighs, and groans so artfully performed, that

no ear could distinguish but that it proceeded from real distress. Mr. Bruce was often so surprised as to send the soldiers at the door to bring in one of the performers; and upon asking what misfortunes had befallen him, he would answer very composedly, "Nothing was the matter with him; that he had been sleeping all day with the horses; that hearing from the soldiers at the door, that he, Mr. Bruce, was retired to his apartment, he and his companions had come to cry and make a noise under his window, to do him honour before the people, for fear he should be melancholy, by being alone; and, therefore, hoped that he would order them drink, that they might continue with a little more spirit." The violent anger which this often put him into did not fail to be punctually reported to the king, at which he would laugh heartily; and he himself was often hid not far off, for the sake of being a spectator of his heavy displeasure.

In various instances there is a similarity between the political institutions of Abyssinia and ancient Persia. In Abyssinia it is considered as a fundamental law of the land, that none of the royal family, who has any deformity or bodily defect, shall be allowed to succeed to the crown; and for this purpose, any of the princes, who may have escaped from the mountain of Wechné, and who are afterwards taken, are mutilated in some of their members, that thus they may be disqualified from ever succeeding. In Persia the same was observed. Procopius tells us, that Zames, the son of Cabades, was excluded from the throne because he was blind of one eye, the law of Persia prohibiting any person that had a bodily defect to be elected king.

The kings of Abyssinia were seldom seen by the people. This absurd usage gave rise to many abuses. In Persia it produced two officers, who were called the king's eye, and the king's ear, and who had the dangerous employment, (Mr. Bruce means dangerous

for the subject,) of seeing and hearing for their sovereign. In Abyssinia it created an officer called the king's mouth, or voice, who promulgates his decrees by saying, Hear what the king says to you, which is the usual form of all regal mandates, and what follows has the force of law.

The kings of Abyssinia are above all laws. They are supreme in all causes ecclesiastical and civil: the land and persons of their subjects are equally their property, and every inhabitant of their kingdom is born their slave: if he bears a higher rank it is by the king's gift; for his nearest relations are accounted nothing better. The same obtained in Persia.

It always has been, and still is, the custom of the kings of Abyssinia to marry what number of wives they chuse; that these were not, however, all queens; but among them there was one who was considered particularly as queen, and upon her head was placed the crown, and she was called Iteghé. Thus, in Persia, we read that Ahasuerus loved Esther, who had found grace in his sight more than the other virgins, and he had placed a golden crown upon her head. Whether placing the crown upon the queen's head had any civil effect as to regency in Persia, as it had in Abyssinia, is what history does not inform us.

The king of Abyssinia never is seen to walk, not to set his foot upon the ground, out of his palace: and when he would dismount from the horse or mule on which he rides, he has a servant with a stool, who places it properly for him for that purpose. He rides into the anti-chamber to the foot of his throne, or to the stool placed in the alcove of his tent. He very often judges capital crimes himself. No man is condemned by the king in person to die for the first fault, unless the crime be of a horrid nature, such as parricide or sacrilege. And, in general, the life and merits of the prisoner are weighed against his immediate guilt; so that if his first behaviour has had

more merit towards the state than his present delinquency is thought to have injured it, the one is placed fairly against the other, and the accused is generally absolved when the sovereign judges alone. Darius had condemned Sandoces, one of the king's judges, to be crucified for corruption; that is, for having given false judgment for a bribe. The man was already hung up on the cross, when the king, considering with himself how many good services he had done, previous to this, the only offence which he had committed, ordered him to be pardoned.

The Persian king, in all expeditions, was attended by judges. Six judges always attend the king of Abyssinia to the camp, and, before them, rebels taken on the field are tried and punished on the spot.

In Abyssinia, when the prisoner is condemned in capital cases, he is not again remitted to prison, which is thought cruel, but he is immediately carried away, and the sentence executed upon him. Abba Salama, the Acab Saat, was condemned by the king the morning he entered Gondar, on his return from Tigré, and immediately hanged, in the garment of a priest, on a tree at the door of the king's palace. Cremation, brother to the usurper Socinios, was executed that same morning; Guebra Denghel, Ras Michael's son-in-law, was likewise executed that same day, immediately after judgment; and so were several others. The same was the practice in Persia, as we learn from Xenophon, and more plainly from Diodorus.

The capital punishments, in Abyssinia, are the cross. Socinios first ordered Arzo, his competitor, who had fled for assistance and refuge to Phineas, king of the Falasha, to be crucified without the camp. We find the same punishment inflicted by Artaxerxes upon Haman, who was ordered to be affixed to the cross till he died.

Lapidation, or stoning to death, is the next capital

punishment in Abyssinia. This is chiefly inflicted upon strangers, called Franks, for religious causes. The Catholic priests in Abyssinia that have been detected there, in these latter days, have been stoned to death, and their bodies lie still in the streets of Gondar, in the squares or waste places, covered with the heaps of stone which occasioned their death by being thrown at them. There are three of these heaps at the church of Abbo, all covering Franciscan friars. In Persia we find, that Pagorasus (according to Ctesias) was stoned to death by the order of the king; and the same author says, that Pharnacyas, one of the murderers of Xerxes, was stoned to death likewise. But it is unnecessary to pursue the comparison between the two nations farther.

Among capital punishments in Abyssinia, may be reckoned the plucking out of the eyes. This is generally inflicted upon rebels. After the slaughter of the battle of Fagitta, twelve chiefs of the Pagan Galla, taken prisoners by Ras Michael, had their eyes torn out, and were afterwards abanboned to starve in the valleys below the town. Several prisoners of another rank, noblemen of Tigré, underwent the same misfortune; and, what is wonderful, not one of them died in the operation, nor its consequences, though performed in the coarsest manner, with an iron forceps, or pincers.

The dead bodies of criminals slain for treason, murder, and violence, on the highway at certain times, are seldom buried in Abyssinia. The streets of Gondar are strewed with pieces of their carcases, which bring the wild beasts in multitudes into the city as soon as it becomes dark, so that it is scarcely safe for any one to walk in the night. The dogs used to bring pieces of human bodies into the house and court-yard, to eat them in greater security.

Notwithstanding the Abyssinians were so anciently and nearly connected with Egypt, they never seem to have made use of paper, or papyrus, but imitated the

practice of the Persians, who wrote upon skins, and they do so to this day. This arises from their having early been Jews. From the great resemblance in customs between the Persians and Abyssinians, following the fashionable way of judging about the origin of nations, one should boldly conclude, that the Abyssinians were a colony of Persians; but this is very well known to be without foundation. The customs, mentioned as only peculiar to Persia, were common to all the east; and they were lost when those countries were overrun and conquered by those who introduced barbarous customs of their own. The reason why we have so much left of the Persian customs is, that they were written, and so not liable to alteration. The history which treats of those ancient and polished nations has preserved few fragments of their manners entire from the ruins of time; while Abyssinia, at war with nobody, or at war with itself only, has preserved the ancient customs which it enjoyed in common with all the east, and which were only lost in other kingdoms by the invasion of strangers, a misfortune Abyssinia has never suffered since the introduction of letters.

The Abyssinians neither eat nor drink with strangers, though they have no reason for this; and it is now a mere prejudice, because the old occasion for this regulation is lost. They break, or purify, however, every vessel a stranger of any kind shall eat or drink in. The custom, then, is copied from the Egyptians, and they have preserved it, though the Egyptian reason does no longer hold.*

The Egyptians made no account of the mother whatever her state was; if the father was free, the child followed the condition of the father. This is strictly so in Abyssinia. The king's child by a negro slave, bought with money, or taken in war, is as near in succeeding to the crown, as any one of twenty

* This is the case in all countries, that customs survive even the knowledge of their origin.

children that he has older than that one, and born of the noblest women of the country.

The men in Egypt did neither buy nor sell; the same is the case in Abyssinia at this day. It is infamy for a man to go to market to buy any thing. He cannot carry water or bake bread; but he must wash the clothes belonging to both sexes; and, in this function, the women cannot help him. In Abyssinia the men carried their burdens on their heads, the women on their shoulders; and this difference, we are told, obtained in Egypt. It is plain, that this buying, in the public market, by women, must have ended whenever jealousy or sequestration of that sex began; for this reason it ended early in Egypt; but, for the opposite reason, it subsists in Abyssinia to this day. It was a sort of impiety in Egypt to eat a calf; and the reason was plain, they worshipped the cow. In Abyssinia, to this day, no man eats veal, although every one very willingly eats a cow; the Egyptian reason no longer subsists, as in the former case, but the prejudice remains, though they have forgotten their reason.

The Abyssinians eat no wild or water fowl, not even the goose, which was a great delicacy in Egypt. The reason of this is, that, upon their conversion to Judaism, they were forced to relinquish their ancient municipal customs, as far as they were contrary to the Mosaical law; and the animals, in their country, not corresponding in form, kind, or name, with those mentioned in the Septuagint, or original Hebrew, it has followed, that there are many of each class that know not whether they are clean or not; and a wonderful confusion and uncertainty has followed through ignorance or mistake, being unwilling to violate the law in any one instance through not understanding it.

Mr. Bruce has mentioned in the course of the narrative of his journey from Masuah, that, at a small distance from Axum, he overtook, on the way, three

travellers who seemed to be soldiers, driving a cow before them; and that one of them cut a pretty large collop of flesh from her buttocks, after which they drove her gently on as before. A violent out-cry was raised in England at hearing this circumstance, which they did not hesitate to pronounce impossible, when the manners and customs of Abyssinia were to them utterly unknown. The Jesuits, established in Abyssinia for above a hundred years, had told them of that people eating, what they call raw meat, in every page, and yet they were ignorant of this.

It must be from prejudice alone we condemn the eating of raw flesh; no precept divine or human forbids it; and if it be true, as later travellers have discovered, that there are nations ignorant of the use of fire, any law against eating raw flesh could never have been intended by God as obligatory upon mankind in general. At any rate, it is certainly not clearly known, whether the eating raw flesh was not an earlier and more general practice than by preparing it with fire.

Consistent with the plan of his work, which was to describe the manners of the several nations through which he passed, good and bad, as he observed them, Mr. Bruce says he cannot avoid giving some account of an Abyssinian banquet, as far as decency will permit him: it is part of the history of a barbarous people; and, however he might wish it, he cannot decline it.

In the capital, where one is safe from surprise at all times, or in the country or villages, when the rains have become so constant, that the valleys are no longer passable; in a word, when a man can say he is safe at home, and the sphere and shield are hung up in the hall, a number of people of the best fashion in the villages, of both sexes, courtiers in the palace, or citizens in the town, meet together to dine between twelve and one o'clock. A long table is set in the middle of a large room, and benches beside it for a

number of guests who are invited. A cow or bull, one or more, as the company is numerous, is brought close to the door, and his feet strongly tied. The skin that hangs down under his chin and throat, is cut only so deep as to arrive at the fat of which it totally consists, and, by separation of a few small blood vessels, six or seven drops of blood only fall upon the ground. They have no stone, bench, or altar, upon which these cruel assassins lay the animal's head in this operation. Mr. Bruce begs his pardon indeed for calling him an assassin, as he is not so merciful as to aim at the life, but, on the contrary, to keep the beast alive till he be nearly eaten up. Having satisfied the Mosaical law, according to his conception, by pouring these six or seven drops upon the ground, two or more of them fall to work; on the back of the beast, and on each side of the spine they cut skin deep; then putting their fingers between the flesh and the skin, they begin to strip the hide of the animal half way down his ribs, and so on to the buttocks, cutting the skin wherever it hinders them commodiously to strip the poor animal bare. All the flesh on the buttocks is then cut off, and in solid square pieces, without bones, or much effusion of blood; and the prodigious noise the animal makes is a signal for the company to sit down to table.

There are then laid before every guest, instead of plates, round cakes, if they may be so called, about twice as big as a pan-cake, and something thicker and tougher. It is unleavened bread, of a sourish taste, far from being disagreeable, and very easily digested, made of a grain called teff. It is of different colours, from black to the colour of the whitest wheat bread. Three or four of these cakes are generally put uppermost, for the food of the person opposite to whose seat they are placed. Beneath these are four or five of ordinary bread, and of a blackish kind. These serve the master to wipe his fingers upon, and afterwards the servant for bread to his dinner. Two

or three servants then come, each with a square piece of beef in their bare hands, laying it upon the cakes of teff, placed like dishes down the table, without cloth or any thing else beneath them. By this time all the guests have knives in their hands; and their men have the large crooked ones, which they put to all sorts of uses, during the time of war. The women have small clasped knives, such as the worst of the kind made at Birmingham, sold for a penny each. The company are so arranged that one man sits between two women; the man with his long knife cuts a thin piece, which would be thought a good beef steak in England, while you see the motion of the fibres yet perfectly distinct, and alive in the flesh. No man in Abyssinia, of any fashion whatever, feeds himself, or touches his own meat. The women take the steak and cut it length-ways like strings, about the thickness of a little finger, then cross-ways into square pieces, something smaller than dice. This they lay upon a piece of the teff bread, strongly powdered with black pepper, or Cayenne pepper, and fossile salt; they then wrap it up in teff bread like a cartridge.

In the mean time, the man having put up his knife, with each hand resting upon his neighbour's knee, his body stooping, his head low and forward, and mouth open very like an idiot, he turns to the one whose cartridge is first ready, who stuffs the whole of it into his mouth, which is kept so full, that he is in constant danger of being choked. This is a mark of grandeur. The greater the man would seem to be, the larger piece he takes in his mouth; and the more noise he makes in chewing it, the more polite he is thought to be. They have, indeed, a proverb that says, "beggars and thieves only eat small pieces, or without making a noise." Having dispatched this morsel, which he does very expeditiously, his next female neighbour holds forth another cartridge, which goes the same way, and so on till he is satisfied. He

never drinks till he has finished eating; and before he begins, in gratitude to the fair-ones that fed him, he makes up two small rolls of the same kind and form; each of his neighbours open their mouths at the same time, while with each hand he puts their portion into their mouths. He then falls to drinking out of a large handsome horn; the ladies eat till they are satisfied, and then all drink together. A great deal of mirth and joke goes round, very seldom with any mixture of acrimony or ill-humour.

During all this time, the unfortunate victim at the door is bleeding indeed, but bleeding little. As long as they can cut off the flesh from his bones, they do not meddle with the thighs, or the parts where the great arteries are. At last, they fall upon the thighs likewise; and soon after the animal, bleeding to death, becomes so tough, that the cannibals, who have the rest of it to eat, find very hard work to separate the flesh from the bones with their teeth like dogs.

Although we read from the Jesuits a great deal about marriage and polygamy, yet there is nothing which may be averred more truly, than that there is no such thing as marriage in Abyssinia, unless that which is contracted by mutual consent, without other form, subsisting only till dissolved by dissent of one or other, and to be renewed or repeated as often as it is agreeable to both parties. Mr. Bruce remembers to have once been at Koscam in presence of the Iteghé, when, in the circle, there was a woman of great quality, and seven men who had all been her husbands, none of whom was the happy spouse at that time.

Upon separation, they divide the children. The eldest son falls to the mother's first choice, and the eldest daughter to the father. If there be but one daughter, and all the rest sons, she is assigned to the father. If there be but one son, and all the rest daughters, he is the right of the mother. If the

numbers are unequal after the first election, the rest are divided by lot. There is no such distinction as legitimate and illegitimate children from the king to the beggar; for supposing any one of their marriages valid, all the issue of the rest must be adulterous bastards.

The king in his marriage uses no other ceremony than this: He sends an azage to the house where the lady lives, where the officer announces to her, it is the king's pleasure that she should remove instantly to the palace. She then dresses herself in the best manner, and immediately obeys. Thenceforward he assigns her an apartment in the palace, and gives her a house elsewhere in any part she chuses. Then, when he makes her Iteghé, it seems to be the nearest resemblance to marraige; for, he orders one of the judges to pronounce in his presence, that he, the king, has chosen his hand-maid, naming her, for his queen; upon which the crown is put upon her head, but she is not anointed.

The crown being hereditary in one family, but elective in the person, and polygamy being permitted, must have multiplied these heirs very much, and produced constant disputes, so that it was found necessary to provide a remedy for the anarchy and effusion of royal blood, which was otherwise inevitably to follow. The remedy was a humane and gentle one, they were confined in a good climate upon a high mountain, and maintained there at the public expence. They are there taught to read and write, but nothing else; seven hundred and fifty cloths for wrapping round them, three thousand ounces of gold, which is thirty thousand dollars, or crowns, are allowed by the state for their maintenance. These princes are hardly used; and, in troublesome times, often put to death upon the smallest misinformation. While Mr. Bruce was in Abyssinia, their revenue was so grossly misapplied, that some

of them were said to have died with hunger and cold, by the avarice and hard-heartedness of Michael neglecting to furnish them necessaries. Nor had the king, as far as ever Mr. Bruce could discern, that fellow-feeling one would have expected from a prince rescued from that very situation himself; however that be, and however distressing the situation of those princes, we cannot but be satisfied with it when we look to the neighbouring kingdom of Sennaar, or Nubia. There no mountain is trusted with the confinement of their princes; but as soon as the father dies, the throats of all the collaterals, and all their descendants, that can be laid hold of, are cut; and this is the case with all the black states in the desert west of Sennaar, Dar Fowr, Selé, and Bagirma*.

In speaking of the military force of this kingdom, great exaggerations have been used. It does not appear, that any king of Abyssinia ever commanded forty thousand effective men at any time, or upon any cause whatever, exclusive of his household troops.

Their standards are large staves, surmounted at the top with a hollow ball; below this is a tube, in which the staff is fixed; and immediately under the ball, a narrow stripe of silk made forked, or swallow-tailed, like a vane, and seldom much broader. The standards of the infantry have their flags painted two colours cross-ways—yellow, white, red, or green. The horse have all a lion upon their flag, some a red, some a green, and some a white lion. The black horse have a yellow lion, and over it a white star upon a red flag, alluding to two prophecies, the one, "Judah is a young lion," and the other, "There shall come a star out of Judah."

* Can a person of any feeling read this and not blush for human nature? Can he help lamenting that governors should be so cruel, or subjects so tame?

The king's household troops should consist of about eight thousand infantry, two thousand of which carry firelocks, and supply the place of archers; bows have been laid aside for near a hundred years, and are now only used by the Waito Shangalla, and some other barbarous inconsiderable nations. These troops are divided into four companies, each under an officer called Shalaka, which answers to our colonel. Every twenty men have an officer, every fifty a second, and every hundred a third; that is, every twenty have one officer who commands them, but is commanded likewise by an officer who commands the fifty; so that there are three officers who command fifty men, six command a hundred, and thirty command five hundred, over whom is the shalaka; and this body they call Bet, which signifies a house or apartment, because each of them goes by the name of one of the king's apartments. For example, there is an apartment called Anbasa Bet, or the lion's house, and a regiment carrying that name has the charge of it, and their duty is that apartment, or that part of the palace where it is; there is another called Jan Bet, or the elephant's house, that gives the name to another regiment; another called Werk Sacala, or the gold house, which gives its name to another corps; and so on with the rest.

There are four regiments, that seldom, if ever, amounted to one thousand six hundred men, which depend alone upon the king, and are all foreigners, at least the officers; these have the charge of his person while in the field. In times, when the king is out of leading-strings, they amount to four or five thousand, and then oppress the country; for they have great privileges. At times, when the king's hands are weak, they are kept incomplete, out of fear and jealousy.

Before the king marches, three proclamations are made. The first is, "Buy your mules, get ready your provision, and pay your servants; for, after

such a day, they that seek me here shall not find me." The second is about a week after, or according as the exigency is pressing; this is, "Cut down the kantuffa in the four quarters of the world, for I do not know where I am going." This kantuffa is a terrible thorn which very much molests the king and nobility in their march, by taking hold of their long hair, and the cotton cloth they are wrapped in. The third and last proclamation is, "I am encamped upon the Angrab, or Kahha; he that does not join me there, I will chastise him for seven years." Mr. Bruce was long in doubt what this term of seven years meant, till he recollected the jubilee year of the Jews, with whom seven years was a prescription of offences, debts, and all trespasses.

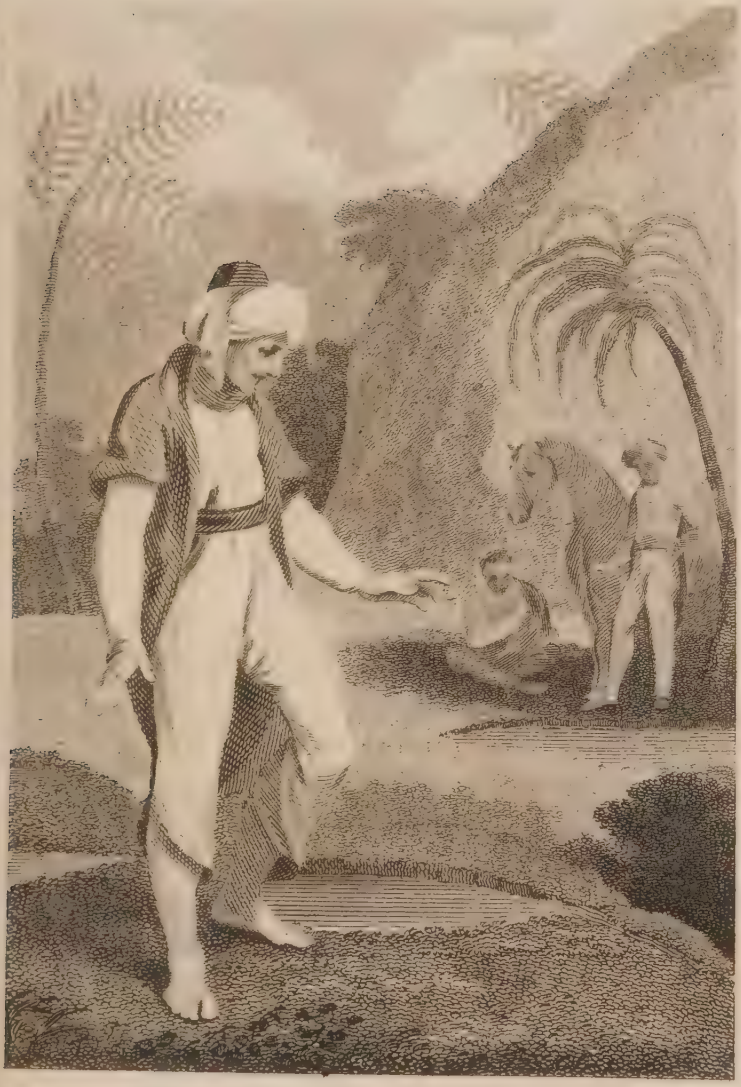
Mr. Bruce next proceeds to speak of the state of religion in Abyssinia, where there are more churches than in any other country; and, though it is very mountainous, and consequently the view much obstructed, it is very seldom you see less than five or six churches; and if you are on a commanding ground, five times that number. Every great man that dies thinks he has atoned for all his wickedness, if he leaves a fund to build a church, or has built one in his life-time. The king builds many. Wherever a victory is gained, there a church is erected, in the very field, stinking with the putrid bodies of the slain. Formerly this was only the case when the enemy was pagan or infidel; now the same is observed when the victories are over christians. The situation of a church is always chosen near running water, for the convenience of their purifications and ablutions, in which they observe strictly the Levitical law. They are always placed upon the top of some beautiful round hill, which is surrounded entirely with rows of the oxycedrus, or Virginia cedar, which grows here in great beauty and perfection, and is called Arz. There is nothing adds so much to the beauty of the country as these churches and the plant-

ations about them. In the middle of this plantation of cedars is interspersed, at proper distances, a number of those beautiful trees called Cusso, which grow very high, and are all extremely picturesque.

The churches are all round, with thatched roofs; their summits are perfect cones; the outside is surrounded by a number of wooden pillars, which are nothing else than the trunks of the cedar tree, and are placed to support the edifice, about eight feet of the roof projecting beyond the wall of the church, which forms an agreeable walk, or colonade, around it in hot weather, or in rain. The inside of the church is in several divisions, according as is prescribed by the law of Moses. The first is a circle somewhat wider than the inner one; here the congregation sit and pray. Within this is a square, and that square is divided by a veil or curtain, in which is another very small division, answering to the holy of holies. This is so narrow, that none but the priest can go into it.

Every person of both sexes, under Jewish disqualifications, is obliged to keep without the precincts of the church, among the cedars, where, unless in Lent, you see the greatest part of the congregation; but this is left to your own conscience; and, if there was either great inconvenience in the one situation, or great satisfaction in the other, the case would be otherwise.

On your first entering the church, you put off your shoes; but you must leave a servant there with them, or else they will be stolen by the priests and monks. At entering, you kiss the threshold, and the two door-posts, go in and say what prayer you please; that finished, you come out again, and your duty is over. The churches are full of pictures, painted on parchment, and nailed upon the walls, in a manner little less slovenly than you see paltry prints in beggarly country ale-houses. Sometimes, for a particular church, they get a number of pic-



Kirk del. Taylor sc.

Mr. Bruce at the Fountains of the Nile.

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tures of saints, on skins of parchment, ready finished from Cairo, in a style very little superior to these performances of their own. They are placed like a frieze, and hung in the upper part of the wall. St. George is generally there with his dragon, and St. Demetrius fighting a lion. There is no choice in their saints; they are both of the Old and New Testament, and those that may be dispensed with from both. There is St. Pontius Pilate and his wife; there is St. Balaam and his ass; St. Sampson and his jawbone; and so of the rest. But the thing that surprised Mr. Bruce most was, a kind of square miniature upon the front of the head-piece, or mitre, of the priest, administering the sacrament at Adowa, representing Pharaoh on a white horse plunging in the Red Sea, with many guns and pistols swimming upon the surface of it, around him.

Nothing embossed, nor in relief, ever appears in any of their churches; all this would be reckoned idolatry; but there is no doubt that pictures have been used in their churches from the very earliest age of Christianity.

The articles of the faith of the Abyssinians have been enquired into, and discussed with so much keenness, in the beginning of this century, that Mr. Bruce fears he should disoblige some of his readers, were he to pass this subject without notice.

Their first bishop, Frumentius, being ordained about the year 333, and instructed in the religion of the Greeks of the church of Alexandria, by St. Athanasius, then sitting in the chair of St. Mark, it follows that the true religion of the Abyssinians, which they received on their conversion to Christianity, is that of the Greek church; and every rite or ceremony in the Abyssinian church may be found and traced up to its origin in the Greek church, while both of them were orthodox. Frumentius preserved Abyssinia untainted with heresy till the day of his death. We find from a letter preserved in the works

of St. Athanasius, that Constantius, the heretical Greek emperor, wished St. Athanasius to deliver him up, which that patriarch refused to do; nor was it in his power.

Soon after this, Arianism and a number of other heresies, each in their turn, were brought by the monks from Egypt, and infected the church of Abyssinia.

It was settled by the first general council, that one baptism only was necessary for the regeneration of man, for freeing him from the sin of our first parents, and listing him under the banner of Christ. —"I confess one baptism for the remission of sins," says the symbol. It was maintained by the Jesuits, that in Abyssinia, once every year, they baptised all grown people, or adults. Mr. Bruce here relates what he himself saw on the spot.

The small river, running between the town of Adowa and the church, had been dammed up for several days; the stream was scanty, so that it scarcely overflowed. It was in places three feet deep, in some, perhaps, four, or little more. Three large tents were pitched here the morning before the feast of the Epiphany. About twelve o'clock at night, the monks and priests met together, and began their prayers and psalms at the water side, one party relieving each other. At dawn of day, the governor, Welleta Michael, came thither with some soldiers, and sat down on a small hill by the water side.

As soon as the sun began to appear, three large crosses of wood were carried by three priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, and who, coming to the side of the river, dipped the cross into the water; and all this time the firing, skirmishing, and praying, went on together. The priests, with the crosses returned, one of their number before them, carrying something

less than an English quart of water in a silver chalice; when they were about fifty yards from Welleta Michael, that general stood up, and the priest took as much water as he could hold in his hands, and sprinkled it upon his head, holding the cup at the same time to Welleta Michael's mouth to taste; after which, the priest received it back again, saying, at the same time, "Gzier y'barak," which is simply, "May God bless you." Each of the three crosses were then brought forward to Welleta Michael, and he kissed them. The ceremony of sprinkling the water was then repeated to all the great men in the tent. Some of them, not contented with aspersion, received the water in the palms of their hands joined, and drank it there; more water was brought for those that had not partaken of the first; and, after the whole of the governor's company were sprinkled, the crosses returned to the river, their bearers singing hallelujahs, and skirmishing and firing continuing.*

Mr. Bruce observed, that a very little time after the governor had been sprinkled, two horses and two mules, belonging to Ras Michael and Ozoro Esther, came and were washed. Afterwards the soldiers went in, and bathed their horses and guns; those who had wounds bathed them also. Heaps of platters and pots, that had been used by Mahometans or Jews, were brought thither likewise to be purified; and thus the whole ended.

Mr. Bruce saw this ceremony performed afterwards at Kahha, near Gondar, in presence of the king, who drank some of the water, and was sprinkled by the priests; then took the cup in his hand, and threw the rest that was left upon Amha Yasous, saying, "I will be your deacon;" and this was thought a high compliment, the priest giving him his

* This seems rather intended for lustration or purification, than for the rite of baptism, properly so called.

blessing at the same time, but offering him no more water.

The Abyssinians receive the holy sacrament in both kinds in unleavened bread, and in the grape bruised with the husk together as it grows, so that it is a kind of marmalade, and is given in a flat spoon; whatever they may pretend, some mixture seems necessary to keep it from fermentation in the sate that it is in, unless the dried cluster is fresh bruised just before it is used, for it is little more fluid than the common marmalade of confectioners; but it is perfectly the grape as it grew, bruised stones and skin together.

It is a mistake that there is no wine in Abyssinia, for a quantity of excellent strong wine is made at Dreeda, south-west from Gondar, about thirty miles, which would more than supply the quantity necessary for the celebration of the eucharist in all Abyssinia twenty times over. The people themselves are not fond of wine, and plant the vine in one place only; and in this they have been imitated by the Egyptians, their colony; but a small black grape, of an excellent flavour, grows plentifully wild in every wood in Tigré.

Large pieces of bread are given to the communicants in proportion to their quality; and Mr. Bruce has seen great men, who, though they opened their mouths as wide as conveniently a man can do, yet, from the respect the priest bore him, such a portion of the loaf was put into his mouth, that water ran from his eyes, from the incapacity of chewing it, which, however, he does as indecently, and with full as much noise as he eats at table.

After receiving the sacrament of the eucharist in both kinds, a pitcher of water is brought, of which the communicant drinks a large draught. He then retires from the steps of the inner division, upon which the administering priest stands, and, turning

his face to the wall of the church, in private says some prayer, with seeming decency and attention.

Mr. Bruce finishes this subject by an anecdote that happened a few months before his coming into Abyssinia, as it was accidentally told him by the priest of Adowa, the very day of the Epiphany, and which Janni vouched to be true, and to have seen.

The Sunday before Ras Michael's departure for Gondar from Adowa, he went to church in great pomp, and there received the sacrament. There happened to be such a crowd to see him, that the wine, part of the consecrated elements, was thrown down and spilt upon the steps whereon the communicants stood at receiving. Some straw or hay was instantly gathered and sprinkled upon it, to cover it, and the communicants continued the service till the end, treading that grass under foot.

This giving great offence to Janni, and some few priests that lived with him, it was told Michael, who, without explaining himself, said only, "As to the fact of throwing the hay, they are a parcel of hogs and know no better." These few words had stuck in the stomach of the priest of Adowa, who, with great secrecy, and as a mark of friendship, begged Mr. Bruce would give him his opinion what he should have done, or rather, what would have been done in his country? Mr. Bruce told him, that the answer to his question depended upon two things, which, being known, his difficulties would be very easily solved. "If you do believe that the wine spilt by the mob upon the steps, and trodden under foot afterwards, was really the blood of Jesus Christ, then you was guilty of a most horrid crime, and you should cry upon the mountains to cover you; and ages of atonement are not sufficient to expiate it. But if, on the contrary, you believe, as many Christian churches do, that the wine, notwithstanding consecration, remained in the cup

nothing more than wine, but was only the symbol, or type of Christ's blood of the New Testament, then the spilling it upon the steps, and the treading upon it afterwards, having been merely accidental, and out of your power to prevent, you are to humble yourself, and sincerely regret that so irreverent an accident happened in your hands, and in your time; but as you did not intend it, and could not prevent it, the consequence of an accident, where inattention is exceedingly culpable, will be imputed to you, and nothing farther.

The priest declared to Mr. Bruce, with the greatest earnestness, that he never did believe that the elements in the euchariat were converted by consecration into the real body and blood of Christ. He said, however, that he believed this to be the Roman Catholic faith, but it never was his; and that he conceived that bread was bread, and the wine was wine, even after consecration. From this example, which occurred merely accidentally, and was not the fruit of interrogation or curiosity, it appears to Mr. Bruce, whatever the Jesuits say, some at least among the Abyssinians do not believe the real presence in the eucharist; but farther our traveller is not enough informed to give a positive opinion.

The Abyssinians are not all agreed about the state of souls before the resurrection of the body. The opinion which generally prevails is, that there is no third state; but that, after the example of the thief, the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision immediately upon the separation from the body. But their practice and books both contradict this; for, as often as any person dies, alms are given, and prayers are offered for the souls of those departed, which would be vain, did they believe they were already in the presence of God, and in possession of the greatest bliss possible, wanting nothing to complete it.

The circumcision of the Abyssinians is performed

with a sharp knife or razor. There is no laceration with the nails, no formula or repetition of words, nor any religious ceremony at the time of the operation, nor is it done at any particular age, and generally it is a woman that is the surgeon. The Falasha say, they perform it sometimes with the edge of a sharp stone, sometimes with a knife or razor, and at other times with the nails of their fingers; and for this purpose, they have the nails of their little fingers of an immoderate length: at the time of the operation, the priest chants an hymn, or verse, importing, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast ordained circumcision!" This is performed on the eighth day, and is a religious rite, according to the first institution by God to Abraham.

There is another ceremony, which regards the women also, and which Mr. Bruce calls incision. This is an usage frequent, and still retained among the Jews, though positively prohibited by the law: "Thou shalt not cut thy face for the sake of, or on account of the dead." As soon as a near relation dies in Abyssinia, a brother or parent, cousin german or lover, every woman in that relation, with the nail of her little finger, which she leaves long on purpose, cuts the skin of both her temples, about the size of a sixpence; and therefore you see either a wound or a scar in every fair face in Abyssinia; and, in the dry season, when the camp is out, from the loss of friends, they seldom have liberty to heal till peace, and the army returns with the rains.

The Abyssinians, like the ancient Egyptians, their first colony, in computing their time, have continued the use of the solar year. Diodorus Siculus says, "they do not reckon their time by the moon, but according to the sun; that thirty days constitute their month, to which they add five days and the fourth part of a day, and this completes their year."

It is uncertain whence they derive the names of their months; they have no signification in any of

the languages of Abyssinia. The name of the first month among the old Egyptians has continued to this day. It is Tot, probably so called from the first division of time among the Egyptians, from observation of the heliacal rising of the dog-star.

The Abyssinians have another way of describing time peculiar to themselves; they read the whole of the four evangelists every year in their churches. They begin with Matthew, then proceed to Mark, Luke, and John, in order; and when they speak of an event, the write and say it happened in the days of Matthew, that is, in the first quarter of the year, while the gospel of St. Matthew was yet reading in the churches. They compute the time of the day in a very arbitrary, irregular manner. The twilight is very short, almost imperceptible, and was still more so when the court was removed farther to the southward in Shoa. As soon as the sun falls below the horizon, night comes on, and all the stars appear. This term, then, the twilight, they chose for the beginning of their day, and call it Naggé, which is the very time the twilight of the morning lasts. The same is observed at night, and Meset is meant to signify the instant of beginning twilight, between the sun's falling below the horizon and the stars appearing. Mid-day is by them called kater, a very old word, which signifies culmination, or a thing's being arrived at the highest part of an arch. All the rest of times, in conversation, they describe by pointing at the place where the sun then was, when what they were describing happened.

Mr. Bruce concludes this subject by observing, that nothing can be more inaccurate than all Abyssinian calculations. Besides their absolute ignorance in arithmetic, their excessive idleness and aversion to study, and a number of fanciful, whimsical combinations, by which every particular scribe or monk distinguishes himself; there are obvious reasons why there should be a variation between their chronology

and ours. The beginning of our years are different; ours begin on the first of January, and theirs on the first day of September, so that there are eight months difference between us. The last day of August may be the year 1780 with us, and 1779 only with the Abyssinians. And in the reign of their kings, they very seldom mention either month or day beyond an even number of years. Supposing then it is known, that the reign of ten kings extended from such to such a period, where all the months and days are comprehended, when we come to assign to each of these an equal number of years, without the correspondent months and days, it is plain that, when all these separate reigns come to be added together, the one sum total will not agree with the other, but will be more or less than the just time which that prince reigned. This, indeed, as errors compensate full as frequently as they accumulate, will seldom amount to a difference of above three years; a space of time too trivial to be of any consequence in the history of barbarous nations.

We now proceed to the narration of transactions.

One day Mr. Bruce met with Tecla Mariam, the king's secretary, who taking him by the hand, said, with a laughing countenance, "O ho, I wish you joy; this is like a man; you are now no stranger, but one of us; why were you not at court?" Mr. Bruce said he had no particular business there, but that he came thither to see Ayto Confu, that he might speak in favour of Yasine, to get him appointed deputy of Ras el Feel. "Why don't you appoint him yourself?" says he: "What has Confu to do with the affair now? You are governor of Ras el Feel; are you not?" Mr. Bruce stood motionless with astonishment. "It is no great affair," said he, "and I hope you will never see it. It is a hot, unwholesome country, full of Mahometans; but its gold is as good as any christian gold whatever. I wish it had

been Begemder with all my heart, but there is a good time coming."

Mr. Bruce, after having recovered himself a little from his surprise at this unexpected appointment, went to Ayto Confu, to kiss his hand, as his superior; but this he would by no means suffer him to do. A great dinner was provided them by the Iteghé; and Yasine being sent for, was appointed, clothed, that is, invested, and ordered immediately to Ras el Feel, to his government, to make peace with the Daveina, and bring all the horses he could get with him from thence, or from Albara. The having thus provided for Yasine, and secured, as he thought, a retreat to Sennaar for himself, gave him the first real pleasure that he had received since his landing at Masuah; and that day, seeing himself in company with all his friends, and the hopes of his country; for the first time since his arrival in Abyssinia, he abandoned himself to joy.

His constitution was, however, too much weakened to bear any excesses. The day after, when he went home to Emfras, he found himself attacked with a slow fever, and thinking that it was the prelude of an ague, with which he was often tormented, he began taking bark, and shut himself up in the house, upon his constant regimen of boiled rice, with abundant draughts of cold water.

At this time a piece of bad news was circulated at Gondar, that Kafmati Boro, whom the ras had left governor at Damot, had been beaten by Fasil, and obliged to retire to Stadis Amba, near the passage of the Nile, at Miné; and that Fasil, with a much larger army of Galla than that he had brought to Fagitta, had taken possession of Buré, the usual place of his residence. This being privately talked of as true, Mr. Bruce asked Kella Yasous, in confidence, what he knew of it. Upon its being confirmed, he could not disguise his sorrow, as he was convinced that unexpected turn of affairs would be an

invincible obstacle to his reaching the source of the Nile. "You are mistaken," says Kefla Yasous, "it is the best thing that could happen to you. Why you desire to see those places I do not know; but this I am sure of, you will not arrive there with any degree of safety, while Fasil commands. He is as perfect a Galla as ever forded the Nile; he has neither word, nor oath, nor faith that can bind; he does mischief for mischief's sake, and then laughs at it."

After Fasil's defeat at Fagitta, another very obstinate battle was fought at Banja, in which the Agows were entirely defeated by Fasil, seven of their chiefs killed, all men of great consequence, among whom was Ayamico, a very near relation of the king. The news were first brought by a son of Nanna Georgis, chief of the Agows, who escaped from the battle. Michael was at dinner, and Mr. Bruce was present. It was one of his carousals for the marriage of Powussen, when young Georgis came into the room, in a torn and dirty habit, unattended, and almost unperceived, and presented himself at the foot of the table. Michael had then in his hand a cup of gold, it being the exclusive privilege of the governor of the province of Tigré to drink out of such a cup; it was full of wine; before a word was spoken, and, upon the first appearance of the man, he threw the cup and wine upon the ground, and cried out, 'I am guilty of the death of these people.' Every one arose, the table was removed, and Georgis told his misfortune, that Nanna Georgis, his father, Zeegam Georgis, the next in rank among them, Aymico, the king's relation, and four other chiefs, were slain at Banja, and their race nearly extirpated by a victory gained with much bloodshed, and after cruelly pursued, in retaliation for that of Fagitta.

A council was immediately called, where it was resolved, that, though the rainy season was at hand, the utmost expedition should be made to take the field; that Gusho and Powussen should return to

their provinces, and increase their army to the utmost of their power; that the king should take the low road by Foggora and Dara, there to join the troops of Begemder and Amhara, cross the Nile at the mouth of the lake, above the second cataract, and march thence straight to Buré, which, by speedy marches, might be done in five or six days. No resolution was ever embraced with more alacrity; the cause of the Agows was the cause of Gondar, or famine would else immediately follow. The king's troops and those of Michael were all ready, and had just refreshed themselves by a week's festivity.

Gusho and Powussen, after having sworn to Michael that they never would return without Fasil's head, decamped next morning with very different intentions in their hearts; for no sooner had they reached Begemder than they entered into a conspiracy in form against Michael, which they had long meditated; they had resolved to make peace with Fasil, and swear with him a solemn league, that they were but to have one cause, one council, and one interest, till they had deprived Michael of his life and dignity.

All this time Mr. Bruce found himself declining in health, to which the irregularities of the last week had greatly contributed. The king and ras had sufficiently provided tents and conveniences for him, yet he wanted to construct for himself a tent, with a large slit in the roof, that he might have an opportunity of taking observations with his quadrant, without being inquieted by troublesome or curious visitors. He therefore obtained leave from the king to go to Emfras, a town about twenty miles south from Gondar, where a number of Mahometan tent-makers lived. Gusho had a house there, and a pleasant garden, which he very willingly gave Mr. Bruce the use of, with this advice, however, which, at the time, he did not understand, rather to go on to Amhara with him, for he would there sooner recover his health, and be more in quiet, than with the king or Michael.

After having taken his leave of the king and the ras, he paid the same compliment to the Iteghé at Koscam. That excellent princess endeavoured much to dissuade Mr. Bruce from leaving Gondar. She treated the intention of going to the source of the Nile as fantastical folly, unworthy of any man of sense or understanding, and very earnestly advised him to stay under her protection at Koscam, till he saw whether ras Michael and the king would return, and then take the first good opportunity of returning to his own country through Tigré, the way that he came, before any evil should overtake him.

Mr. Bruce excused himself the best he could. It was not easy to do it with any degree of conviction, to people utterly unlearned, and who knew nothing of the prejudice of ages in favour of the attempt he was engaged in. He therefore turned the discourse to professions of gratitude for benefits that he had every day received from her, and for the very great honour that she then did him, when she condescended to testify her anxiety concerning the fate of a poor unknown traveller like him, who could not possibly have any merit but what arose from her own gracious and generous sentiments, and universal charity, that extended to every object, in proportion as they were helpless.

Gondar, the metropolis of Abyssinia, is situated upon a hill of considerable height, the top of it nearly plain, on which the town is placed. It consists of about ten thousand families in times of peace; the houses are chiefly of clay, the roofs thatched in the form of cones, which is always the construction within the tropical rains. On the west end of the town is the king's house, formerly a structure of considerable consequence. Great part of it however is now in ruins, having been burnt at different times; but there is still ample lodging in the two lowest floors of it, the audience chamber being above one hundred and twenty feet long.

Gondar by a number of observations, stands in latitude 12 deg. 34 min. 30 sec. and its longitude is 37 deg. 33 min. 0 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich.

On the 4th of April 1770, at eight o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bruce set out from Gondar, and the next day he arrived at Emfras, after a very pleasant though not interesting excursion. The town is situated on a steep hill, and the way up to it is almost perpendicular, like the ascent of a ladder. The houses are all placed about the middle of the hill, fronting the west, in number about three hundred. Above these houses are gardens, or rather fields, full of trees and bushes, without any sort of order, up to the very top. Emfras commands a view of the whole lake of Tzana, and part of the country on the other side. It was once a royal residence.

The lake of Tzana is much the largest expanse of water known in that country. Its extent, however, has been greatly exaggerated. Its greatest breadth is thirty-five miles; but it decreases greatly at its extremity, where it is not sometimes above ten miles broad: its greatest length is forty-nine miles from north to south. In the dry months, from October to March, the lake shrinks greatly in size; but after that, all those rivers are full which are on every side of it, and fall into the lake, like radii drawn to a centre, then it swells and extends itself into the plain country, and has of course a much larger surface.

On the 12th of May, our travellers heard the king had marched to Tedda, and on the 15th, they heard the king's kettle drums. Forty-five of these instruments constantly go before him, beating all the way while he is on his march.

On the 14th, at day-break, Mr. Bruce mounted his horse, with all his men-servants. Early as it was, the king was then in council, and Ras Michael, who had his advisers assembled also in his tent, had just left it to go to the king's. There was about five hun-

dred yards between their tents, and a free avenue is constantly left, in which it is a crime to stand, or even to cross, unless for passengers from the one to the other.

Mr. Bruce now took the advantage to pay a visit to the great cataract of Alata. The first thing our traveller was shewn was the bridge, which consists of one arch of about twenty-five feet broad. Fragments of the parapets remained, and the bridge itself seemed to bear the appearance of frequent repairs, and many attempts to ruin it; otherwise, in its construction it was exceedingly commodious. The Nile here is confined between two rocks, and runs in a deep trough, with great roaring and impetuous velocity. They were told no crocodiles were ever seen so high, and were obliged to remount the stream above half a mile before they came to the cataract, through trees and bushes of a beautiful and delightful appearance.

The cataract itself was the most magnificent sight that Mr. Bruce ever beheld. The height has been rather exaggerated. The missionaries say the fall is about sixteen ells, or fifty feet. The measuring is, indeed, very difficult; but, by the position of long sticks, and poles of different lengths, at different heights of the rock, from the water's edge, Mr. Bruce thinks he may venture to say, that it is nearer forty feet than any other measure. The river had been considerably increased by rains, and fell in one sheet of water, without any interval, above half an English mile in breadth, with a force and noise that was truly terrible, and which stunned, and made him, for a time, perfectly dizzy. A thick fume, or haze, covered the fall all round, and hung over the course of the stream both above and below, marking its track, though the water was not seen. The river, though swelled with rain, preserved its natural clearness, and fell as far as he could discern, into a deep pool or bason, in the solid rock, and in twenty dif-

ferent eddies to the very foot of the precipice; th stream, when it fell, seeming part of it to run back with great fury upon the rock, as well as forward in the line of its course, raising a wave, or violent ebul lition, by chafing against each other.

Jerome Lobo pretends, that he has sat under th curve, or arch, made by the projectile force of the water rushing over the precipice. This, however Mr. Bruce, without hesitation, avers to be a down right falsehood; as a deep pool of water reaches to the very foot of the rock, and is in perpetual agita tion. Now, allowing that there was a seat, or bench which there is not, in the middle of the pool, it is absolutely impossible for any exertion of human strength, to have arrived at it. The sight was so magnificent that ages, added to the greatest length of human life, would not deface or eradicate it from Mr. Bruce's memory; it struck him with a kind of tupor, and a total oblivion of where he was, and of every other sublunary concern. It was one of the most sublime and stupendous sights in the creation hough degraded and vilified by the lies of a grovel ng fanatic peasant.

On the 22d of May, our travellers were all equally desirous to resume their journey. They set out ac cordingly at six o'clock in the morning, ascending some hills covered with trees and shrubs of inexpres sible beauty, and many of extraordinary fragrance They continued ascending about three miles, till they came to the top of the ridge within sight of the lake As they rose, the hills became more bare and less beautiful.

After Mr. Bruce had passed the Nile, he found himself more than ordinarily depressed; his spirits were sunk almost to a degree of despondency, and nothing had happened since that period more than was expected before. This painful situation of mind continued at night while he was in bed. The rash ness and imprudence with which he had engaged him

self in so many dangers without any necessity for so doing; the little prospect of his being ever able to extricate himself out of them, or, even if he lost his life, of the account being conveyed to his friends at home, filled his imagination with what he had heard other people call the *horrors*, the most disagreeable sensation he ever was conscious of, and which he then felt for the first time. Impatient of suffering any longer, he leaped out of bed, and went to the door of the tent, where the outward air perfectly awakened him, and restored his strength and courage. It was then near four in the morning of the 25th. He called upon his companions happily buried in deep sleep, as he was desirous, if possible, to join the king that day.

A little before nine they heard a gun fired, which gave them some joy, as the army seemed not to be far off; a few minutes after, they heard several dropping shots; and, in less than a quarter of an hour's time, a general firing began from right to left, which ceased for an instant, and then was heard again as smart as ever; about the occasion of which they were divided in opinion. The firing continued much in the same way, rather slacker, but apparently advancing nearer them; a sure sign that their army was beaten and retreating. They therefore made themselves ready, and mounted on horseback that they might join them.

They had not gone far in the plain before they had a sight of the enemy, to their very great surprise and no small comfort. A multitude of deer, buffaloes, boars, and various other wild beasts, had been alarmed by the noise and daily advancing of the army, and gradually driven before them. The country was all overgrown with wild oats, a great many of the villages having been burnt the year before the inhabitants had abandoned them: in this shelter the wild beasts had taken up their abodes in very great numbers. Finding men in every direction in which they attempted to pass, they became desperate with fear;

and, not knowing what course to take, fell a prey to the troops. The soldiers, happy in an occasion of procuring animal food, presently fell to firing wherever the beasts appeared; every loaded gun was discharged upon them, and this continued for very near an hour.

The king and Ras Michael appeared to be in the most violent agitation of mind; though the cause was before their eyes, yet the word went about that Woodage Asahel had attacked the army; and this occasioned a great panic and disorder; for every body was convinced with reason that he was not far off. The firing, however, continued; the balls flew about in every direction; some few were killed, and many people and horses were hurt; still they fired, and Ras Michael, at the door of his tent, crying, threatening, and tearing his grey locks, found for a few minutes, the army was not under his command. At this instant, Kasmati Netcho, whose fit-auraris had fallen back on his front, ordered his kettle drums to be beat before he arrived in the king's presence; and this being heard, without it being known generally who they were, occasioned another panic. The king however, ordered his tent to be pitched, his standard to be set up, and his drums to beat, when the firing immediately ceased. But it was a long while before all the army could believe that Woodage Asahel had not been engaged with some part of it that day. Mr. Bruce coming up with the army, he asked one of the generals, whither they were now marching? He said that as soon as the news of the conspiracy was known, a council was held, where it was the general opinion they should proceed briskly forward, and attack Fasil alone at Buré, then turn to Gondar, to meet the other two; but then hearing that great rains had fallen to the southward, which had swollen the rivers, there would be great danger in meeting Fasil with an army spent and fatigued with the difficulty of the roads. It was, therefore, determined that they

should keep their army entire for a better day, and immediately cross the Nile, and march back to Gondar; that they had accordingly wheeled about, and that day was the first of their proceeding, which had been interrupted by the accident of the firing.

On the 26th of May, early in the morning, the army marched towards the Nile. In the afternoon they encamped, between two and three on the banks of the river Coga.

Next morning they left the river Coga, marching down upon the Nile, and passed the church of Mariam Net. Here the superior, attended by about fifty of his monks, came in procession to welcome Ras Michael; but he, having received some intelligence of ill-offices the people of this quarter had done to the Agows by Fasil's direction, ordered the church to be plundered, and took the superior and two of the monks away with him to Gondar; while several of the others were killed and wounded, without provocation by the soldiers.

They arrived about four on the banks of the Nile, and took possession in a line of about six hundred yards of ground. From the time they decamped from Coga, it poured incessantly the most continued rain they ever had yet seen, violent claps of thunder followed close one upon another, almost without interval, accompanied with sheets of lightning, which ran on the ground like water; the day was more than commonly dark, as in an eclipse, and every hollow, or foot-path, collected a quantity of rain, which fell into the Nile in torrents.

The Abyssinian armies pass the Nile at all seasons; yet the sight of such a monstrous mass of water terrified Mr. Bruce, and made him think the idea of crossing would be laid aside. It was plain in the face of every one, that they gave themselves over for lost; an universal dejection had taken place, and it was but too visible that the army was defeated by the weather, without having seen an enemy. The

Greeks crowded around Mr. Bruce all forlorn and despairing, cursing the hour they had first entered that country, and following these curses with fervent prayers, where fear held the place of devotion. A cold and brisk gale, however, soon sprang up, with a clear sun; and these temporary torrents all subsided, and the ground again began to become dry.

Netcho, Ras Michael's fit-auraris, with about four hundred men, had passed in the morning, and had sent back word to the king, that his men had passed swimming, and with very great difficulty; that he doubted whether the horses, or loaded mules, could cross at any rate; but if it were resolved to make the trial, they should do it immediately, without staying till the increase of the river. Instead, therefore, of resting there that night, it was resolved that the horse should cross immediately.

The first who passed was a young man, a relation of the king; he walked in with great caution, marking a track for the king to pass. He had gone upon rather solid ground, about twice the length of his horse, when he plunged out of his depth, and swam to the other side. The king followed him immediately with a great degree of haste, Ras Michael calling to him to proceed with caution, but without success. Afterwards came the old ras on his mule, with several of his friends swimming both with and without their horses on each side of him, in a manner truly wonderful. As soon as these were safely ashore, the king's household and black troops, and Mr. Bruce with them, advanced cautiously into the river, and swam happily over, in a deep stream of reddish coloured water which ran without violence almost upon a level. Each horsemen had a mule in his hand, which swam after him, or by his side, with his coat of mail and head-piece tied upon it. It is impossible to describe the confusion that followed; night was hard upon them, and, though it increased their loss, it

in a great measure, concealed it; of the horse belonging to the king's household, seven were missing; with them Ayto Aylo, vice-chamberlain to the queen, and Tecla Marian, the king's uncle.

A thousand men had not yet passed, and scarcely any baggage. The fit-auraris, had left, ready made, two rafts for Ozoro Esther, and other two ladies, with which she might have easily been conducted over, and without much danger; but the ras made Ozoro Esther pass over in the same manner he had crossed himself, many swimming on each side of her mule. She would have fain staid on the east side, but it was in vain to remonstrate; as nothing could prevail with the ras to to trust her on the bank till morning. She crossed, however, safely, though almost dead with fright. The river had abated towards mid-night, when, whether from this cause, or, as they alleged, that they found a more favourable ford, all the Tigré infantry, and many mules lightly loaded, passed with less difficulty than any of the rest had done, and with them several loads of flour; luckily also, Mr. Bruce's two tents and mules, to his great consolation, came safely over when it was nearly morning. Before day-light, the van and centre had all joined the king; the number that had perished was never distinctly known, for those that were missing were thought to have remained on the other side with Kefla Yasous, at least for that day.

On the 28th, Kefla Yasous crossed with some degree of difficulty, and was obliged to abandon several baggage mules. He advanced after this with as great diligence as possible to Delakus, and found the ford, though deep, much better than he expected. He had pitched his tent on the high road to Gondar, before Welleta Yasous, the enemy, knew he was decamped, and of this passage he immediately advised Michael refreshing his troops for any emergency. About two in the afternoon Welleta Yasous appeared with his horse on the other side of the Nile, but it was then

too late. Kefla Yasous was so strongly posted, and the banks of the river so guarded with fire-arms, down to the water-edge, that Fasil and all his army would not have dared to attempt the passage, or even approach the banks of the river.

Ras Michael, having received this intelligence, dispatchedthe fit-auraris, Netcho, to take post upon the ford of the Kelti, a large river but rather broad than deep, about three miles off. He himself followed early in the morning, and passed the Kelti just at sunrise, without halting; he then advanced to meet Kefla Yasous, as the army began to want provisions. It was found too, that the men had but little powder, none of them having recruited their quantity since the hunting of the deer. Kefla Yasous, therefore, being in possession of the baggage, powder, and the provisions, a junction with him was absolutely necessary, and they expected to effect this at Wainadega, about twenty miles from their last night's quarters. Between twelve and one they heard the fit-auraris engaged; and there was sharp firing on both sides, which soon ceased. It was not long before the fit-auraris's two messengers arrived, who said that they had fallen in with Fasil's fit-auraris: that they had attacked him smartly, and, though the enemy were greatly superior, had killed four of them.

Fasil soon appeared at the top of the hill, with about three thousand horse. It was a fine sight, but the evening was beginning to be overcast. After having taken a full view of the army, they all began to move slowly down the hill, beating their kettle drums. Fasil sent down a party to skirmish with these; and he himself halted, after having made a few paces down the hill. The two bodies of horse met just half way, and mingled together, as appeared at least, with very decisive intention; but whether it was by orders or from fear, the Abyssinian horse turned their backs and came precipitately down, so that they were afraid they would break in upon the

foot. Several shots were fired from the centre at them by order of the ras, who cried out aloud, in derision, "Take away these horses and send them to the mill." On the king's side, no man of note was missing but Walleta Michael, nephew of Ras Michael, whose horse falling, he was taken prisoner.

The whole army now advanced at a very brisk pace, hooping and screaming, as is their custom, in a most harsh and barbarous manner, crying out Hatxé Ali! But Fasil, who saw the forward countenance of the king's troops, and that a few minutes would lay him under the necessity of risking a battle, which he did not intend, withdrew his troops at a smart trot over the smooth downs, returning towards Boskon Abbo.

This is what was called the battle of Limjour; but the name of a battle is surely more than it deserves. Had Fasil been half as willing as the ras, it could not have failed being a decisive one. The ras, who saw that Fasil would not fight, easily penetrated his reasons; and no sooner was he gone, and his own drums silent, than he heard a negareet beat, and knew it to be that of Kefla Yasous. This general encamped upon the river Avoley, had marched with the best and freshest of his troops to join Michael before the engagement. All was joy at meeting, every rank of men joined in extolling the merit and conduct of their leaders; and indeed it may be fairly said, the situation of the king and the army was desperate at that instant when the troops were separated on different sides of the Nile; nor could they have been saved, but by the speedy resolution taken by Kefla Yasous to march without loss of time, and pass at the ford of Delakus, and the diligence and activity with which he executed that resolution.

The army marched next day to Dingleber, a high hill, or rock, approaching so close to the lake as scarcely to leave a passage between. Upon the top of this rock is the king's house. As they arrived

very early there, and were now out of Fasil's government, the king insisted upon treating Ras Michael and all the people of consideration.

As the king sat down to dinner, an accident happened that occasioned great trepidation among all his servants. A black eagle was chased into the king's tent by some of the birds of prey that hover about the camp; and it was after in the mouth of every one, that the king would be dethroned by a man of inferior birth and condition. Every body at that time looked to Fasil: the event proved the application false, though the omen was true. Powussen of Begember was as low born as Fasil, as great a traitor, but more successful, to whom the ominous presage pointed; and, though we cannot but look upon the whole as accident, it was but too soon fulfilled.

In the evening of the 29th, arrived at Dingleber two horsemen from Fasil, clad in habits of peace, and without arms; they were known to be two of his principal servants, were grave, genteel, middle-aged men. They had an audience early after their coming, first of the ras, then of the king. They said, that Fasil had repassed the Kelti, was encamped on the opposite side, and was not yet joined by Welleta Yasous. Their errand was, to desire that the ras might not fatigue his men by unnecessarily hurrying on to Gondar, because he might rest secured of receiving no farther molestation from Fasil their master, as he was on his march to Buré. They told the ras the whole of the conspiracy, as far as it regarded him, and the agreement that Powussen and Gusho had made with their master to surround him at Derdera: they mentioned, moreover, how sensible Fasil was of their treason towards him; that, instead of keeping their word, they had left him to engage the king and the ras's whole force, at a time when they knew the greatest part of his Galla troops were retired to the other side of the Nile, and could be assembled with difficulty. Fasil declared his resolution never again to appear in arms against the king; but that he would

hold his government under him, and pay the accustomed taxes punctually: he promised also, that he would renounce all manner of connexion with Gusho and Powussen; and that he would take the field against them next season with his whole force, whenever the king ordered him. The messengers concluded with desiring the ras to give Fasil his grand-daughter, Welleta Selasseé, in marriage; and that he would then come to Gondar without distrust.

The ras, though he did not believe all this, made no difficulty in agreeing to every thing they desired. He promised the grand-daughter; and, as earnest of his believing the rest, the king's two nagareets were brought to the door of the tent, where, to the very great surprise of our travellers, they heard it proclaimed, "Fasil is governor of the Agow, Maitsha Gojam, and Damot; prosperity to him, and long may he live a faithful servant to the king our master!" This was an extraordinary revolution in so small a space of time. It was scarce forty-three hours since Fasil had laid a scheme for drowning the greater part of the army in the Nile, and cutting the throats of the residue on both sides of it; it was not twenty-four hours since he had met them to fight in open field, and now he was become the king's lieutenant general in four of the most opulent provinces of Abyssinia. The whole camp abandoned itself to joy.

On the 30th of May nothing material happened; and in a few days they arrived at Gondar. The soldiers were all contented, because they were at home; but the officers who saw farther, wore very different countenances. Mr. Bruce, in particular, had very little reason to be pleased; for, after having undergone a constant series of fatigues, dangers, and expences, he was returned to Gondar, disappointed of his views in arriving at the source of the Nile, without any other acquisition than a violent ague.

The whole army being in motion, Mr. Bruce had,

the evening before, taken leave of the king in an interview which cost him more than almost any one in his life. The substance was, that he was ill in his health, and quite unprepared to attend him into Tigré, to which place the army was to retreat; that his heart was set upon completing the only purpose of his coming into Abyssinia, without which he should return into his own country with disgrace; that he hoped, through his majesty's influence, Fasil might find some way for him to accomplish it; if not, he trusted soon to see him return, when he hoped it would be easy; but, if he then went to Tigré, was fully persuaded he should never have the resolution to come again to Gondar.

The king seemed to take heart at the confidence with which Mr. Bruce spoke of his return. "You, Yagoube," says he, "could tell me, if you pleased, what is to befal me; those instruments and those wheels, with which you are constantly looking at the stars, cannot be for any use, unless for prying into futurity." "Indeed, prince," said Mr. Bruce, "these are things by which we guide ships at sea, and by these we mark down the ways that we travel by land. But of the decrees of Providence, whether they regard you or myself, I know no more than the mule upon which you ride." "Tell me, then, I pray, tell me, what is the reason you speak of my return as certain?" "I speak," said Mr. Bruce, "from observation, from reflections that I have made, much more certain than prophecies and divinations by stars. He then enumerated several fortunate incidents and providential escapes in the prince's life, and concluded from all these special marks of the favour of an over-ruling Providence, I do believe stedfastly that God will not leave his work half finished. He it is, who, governing the whole universe, has yet reserved specially to himself the department of war; he it is who has styled himself the God of Battles."

The king was very much moved, and as Mr. Bruce conceived, persuaded. He said, "O Yagoube, go but with me to Tigré, and I will do for you whatever you desire me." "You do, sir," said Mr. Bruce, whatever I desire you, and more. I have told you my reasons why that cannot be; let me stay here a few months, and wait your return." The king then advised him to live entirely at Koscam with the Iteghé, without going out, unless Fasil came to Gondar, and to send punctually word how he was treated. Upon this they parted with inexpressible reluctance. He was a king worthy to reign over a better people. Mr. Bruce's heart was deeply penetrated with those marks of favour and condescension, which he had uniformly received from him ever since he entered his palace.

Michael had always pretended, that, before he undertook an expedition, a person, or spirit, appeared to him, who told him the issue and consequence of the measures he was then taking; this he imagined to be St. Michael the archangel, and he presumed very much upon this intercourse. In a council the night before he left the city, where none but friends were present, he had told them that his spirit had appeared some nights before, and ordered him, in his retreat, to surprise the mountain of Wechné, and either slay or carry with him to Tigré the princes sequestered there. Nebrit Tecla, governor of Axum, with his two sons, all concerned in the late king's murder, were, it is said, strong advisers of this measure; but Ras Michael, probably satiated with royal blood already, Kefla Yasous, and all the more worthy men of any consequence, acting on principle, absolutely refused to consent to it.

Though the queen shewed very great dislike to Mr. Bruce's attempting his journey at such a time, yet she did not positively command the contrary; he was prepared, therefore, to leave Gondar the 27th of October 1770, and thought to get a few miles clear

of the town, and then make a long stretch the next day. But, about twelve o'clock, he was told a message from Ras Michael had arrived, with great news from Tigré. He went immediately to Koscam, and found a message had been brought to order bread and beer to be ready for thirty thousand men, who were coming with the king, as he had just decamped from before the mountain Haramat, which he had taken, and put Za Menfus to the sword, with every man that was in it.

Mr. Bruce had endeavoured to engage an old companion to accompany him on this attempt, as he had done on the former; but the recollection of past dangers and sufferings was not yet banished from his mind; and upon his asking him to go and see the head of the famous river, he coarsely answered, "Might the devil fetch him, if ever he sought either his head or his tail again."

On the 28th of October, they left Gondar, passed the river Kahha at the foot of the town; and on the 30th reached Bamba, where Fasil was encamped.

They found Bamba a collection of villages, in a valley now filled with soldiers. They went to the left with their guide, and got a tolerable house, but the door had been carried away. Fasil's tent was pitched a little below them, larger than the others, but without farther distinction. Mr. Bruce immediately sent Ayto Aylo's servant, whom he had with him, to present his compliments, and acquaint him of his being on the road to visit him. He thought now all his difficulties were over: for he knew it was in his power to forward them to his journey's end, and he had some reason to expect his protection.

It was now, however, near eight at night of the 30th, before Mr. Bruce received a message to attend him. He repaired immediately to his tent, and after announcing himself, he waited about a quarter of an hour before he was admitted; he was sitting upon a cushion with a lion's skin upon it, and another

stretched like a carpet before his feet, and had a cotton cloth, something like a dirty towel, wrapped about his head; his upper cloak or garment was drawn tight about him, over his neck and shoulders, so as to cover his hands. Mr. Bruce bowed, and went forward to kiss one of them, but it was so entangled in the cloth, that he was obliged to kiss the cloth instead of the hand. This was done either as not expecting he should pay him that compliment, as he certainly should not have done, being one of the king's servants, if the king had been at Gondar; or else it was intended for a mark of disrespect, which was very much of a piece with the rest of his behaviour afterwards.

There was no carpet or cushions in the tent, and only a little straw, as if accidentally thrown thinly about it. Mr. Bruce sat down upon the ground, when Fasil, looking stedfastly at him, saying softly, "Endett nawi? Bogo nawi?" which, in Amharic, is, how do you do? are you very well? Mr. Bruce made the usual answer, "Well, thank God." He again stopt, as for our traveller to speak; there was only one old man present, who was sitting on the floor mending a mule's bridle. What he was Mr. Bruce could not make out; he seemed, however, to be a very bad cobler, and took no notice of them.

Ayto Aylo's servant, who stood behind Mr. Bruce, pushed him with his knee, as a sign that he should speak, which he accordingly began to do with some difficulty, "I am come," said he, "by your invitation, and the king's leave, to pay my respects to you in your own government, begging that you would favour my curiosity so far, as to suffer me to see the country of the Agows, and the source of the Abay, or Nile, part of which I have seen in Egypt." "The source of the Abay!" exclaimed, he with a pretended surprise, "do you know what you are saying? Why, it is God knows where, in the country of the Galla, wild, terrible people. The source

of the Abay! Are you raving?" repeats he again: "are you to get there, do you think, in a twelvemonth, or more, or when?" "Sir, said Mr. Bruce, the king told me it was near Sacala, and still nearer Geesh; both villages of the Agows, and both in your government." "And so you know Sacala and Geesh?" says he, whistling and half angry. "I can repeat the names that I hear," said Mr. Bruce, "all Abyssinia knows the head of the Nile." "Aye," says he, imitating my voice and manner, "but all Abyssinia won't carry you there, that I promise you." "If you are resolved to the contrary, said Mr. Bruce, they will not; I wish you had told the king so in time, then I should not have attempted it; it was relying on you alone I came so far, confident, if all the rest of Abyssinia could not protect me there, that your word singly could do it."

He now put on a look of more complacency. "Look you, Yagoube," says he, "it is true I can do it; and, for the king's sake who recommended it to me, I would do it; but the Acab Salma has sent to me to desire me not let you pass farther; he says it is against the law of the land to permit Franks like you to go about the country, and that he has dreamed something ill will befal me, if you go into Maitsha."

Mr. Bruce saw he intended to provoke him; and he had succeeded so effectually that he threw him off his guard, and forced a spirited reply to some invectives against Europeans in general.

While they were engaged in a war of words, which was neither prudent on the part of Mr. Bruce, nor civil on the part of Fasil, our traveller's nose burst out in a stream of blood; and that instant Aylo's servant took hold of him by the shoulder, to hurry him out of the tent. Fasil seemed to be a good deal concerned, for the blood streamed out in plenty; but it was soon staunched by washing his face with cold water. Having retired to his tent, he sat down to recollect himself, and the more he calmed, the more

he was dissatisfied at being put off his guard; but it is impossible to conceive the provocation without having proved it. Besides, Mr. Bruce confesses, that he was from his infancy of a sanguine, passionate disposition; very sensible of injuries that he had neither provoked nor deserved; but much reflection, from very early life, continual habits of suffering in long and dangerous travels, where nothing but patience would do, had, he flattered himself, abundantly subdued his natural proneness to feel offences, which common sense might teach him, he could only revenge upon himself.

Mr. Bruce went to bed, and falling into a sound sleep, was waked near midnight by two of Fasil's servants, who brought each of them a lean live sheep; they said they had brought the sheep, and were come to ask how Mr. Bruce was, and to stay all night to watch the house, for fear of the thieves in the army; they likewise brought their master's order for him to come early in the morning to him, as he wanted to dispatch him on his journey, before he gave the Galla liberty to return. This dispelled every doubt, but it raised his spirits so much, that, out of impatience for morning, he slept very little more that night.

Fasil having sent for Mr. Bruce the next morning, invited him to partake of a great breakfast; honey and butter, and raw beef in abundance, as also some stewed dishes that were very good. He was very hungry, having tasted nothing since dinner the day before; and he had had much exercise of body as well as of mind. They were all very cheerful, every one saying something about the Agows or of the Nile. Mr. Bruce, at last, thus addressed Fasil: "Your continual hurry, said he, all the times I have seen you, has put it out of my power, till now, to make you the acknowledgment it is ordinary for strangers to present, when they visit great men in their own country, and ask favours of them." Mr.

Bruce then took a napkin, and opened it before him; he seemed to have forgotten the present altogether; but from that moment he saw his countenance changed, he was like another man. "O Yagoube, said he, a present to me! you should be sensible that it is perfectly needless; you were recommended to me by the king and the ras; you know, we are friends, and I would do twenty times as much for yourself, without recommendation from either; besides, I have not behaved to you like a great man."

It was not a very hard thing to conquer these scruples; he took the several pieces of the present, one by one, in his hands, and examined them; there was a crimson silk sash, made at Tunis, about five yards long, with a silk fringe of the same colour; the next was a yellow sash, with a silver-wrought fringe; the next were two Cyprus manufactured sashes, silk and cotton; the next was a Persian pipe, with a long pliable tube, or worm, covered with Turkey leather, with an amber mouth-piece, and a crystal vase for smoking tobacco through water, a great luxury in the eastern countries; and lastly, were two blue bowls. He shoved them from him, laughing, and said, "I will not take them from you, Yagoube; this is downright robbery; I have done nothing for this, which is a present for a king." "It is a present to a friend, said Mr. Bruce, often of more consequence to a stranger than a king; I always except your king, who is the stranger's best friend."

Being well pleased to have the acceptance of this present forced upon him, he folded up the napkin with all the articles, and gave them to an officer; after which the tent was again cleared for consultation; and during this time he had called his man of confidence, whom he was to send with them, and instructed him properly. Mr. Bruce plainly saw that he had gained the ascendant; and, in the expectation of ras Michael's speedily coming to Gondar, he was as will-

ing to be on his journey the one way, as he was the other.

Fasil would have had him sit down on the same cushion with himself, which he declined. "Friend Yagoube, said he, I am heartily sorry that you did not meet me at Buré before I set out; there I could have received you as I ought; but I have been tormented with a multitude of barbarous people, who have turned my head, and whom I am now about to dismiss. I go to Gondar in peace, and to keep peace there, for the king on this side the Tacazzé has no other friend than me. I have nothing to return you for the present you have given me, for I did not expect to meet a man like you here in the fields; but you will quickly be back; we shall meet on better terms at Gondar; the head of the Nile is near at hand; a horseman, express, will arrive there in a day. I have given you a good man, well known in this country to be my servant; he will go to Geesh with you, and return you to a friend of Ayto Aylo's and mine, Shalaka Welled Amlac; he has the dangerous part of the country wholly in his hands, and will carry you safe to Gondar; my wife is at present in his house; fear nothing, I shall answer for your safety: When will you set out? to morrow?"

Mr. Bruce replied, with many thanks for his kindness, that he wished to proceed immediately, and that his servants were already far off, on their way.

Fasil then said to Mr. Bruce, "Throw off those clothes; they are not decent; I must give you new ones, you are my vassal. The king granted you Geesh, where you are going, and I must invest you." A number of Fasil's servants then hurried him out; our traveller presently threw off his trowsers and his two upper garments, and remained in his waistcoat; these were presently replaced by new ones, and he was brought back in a minute to Fasil's tent, with only a fine loose muslin under garment, or cloth, round him, which reached to his feet. Upon his

coming back to the tent, Fasil took off the one that he had put on himself new in the morning, and put it about Mr. Bruce's shoulders with his own hand, his servants throwing another immediately over him, saying at the same time to the people, "Bear witness, I give to you, Yagoube, the Agow Geesh, as fully and freely as the king has given it me." Mr. Bruce bowed and kissed his hand, as is customary for feudatories, and he then pointed to him to sit down.

"Hear what I say to you, continued Fasil, I think it right for you to make the best of your way now; for you will be the sooner back at Gondar. You need not be alarmed at the wild people who are going after you, though it is better to meet them coming this way, than when they are going to their homes; they are commanded by Welleta Yasous, who is your friend, and is very grateful for the medicines you sent him at Gondar: he has not been able to see you, but he loves you, and will take care of you, and you must give me more of that physic when we meet at Gondar." Mr. Bruce bowed, and he continued—"Hear me what I say; you see those seven people (our traveller never saw more thief-like fellows in his life)—these are all leaders and chiefs of the Galla—savages if you please; they are all your brethren. You may go through their country as if it were your own, without a man hurting you: you will soon be related to them all; for it is their custom that a stranger of distinction, like you, when he is their guest, sleeps with the sister, daughter, or near relation of the principal men among them. I dare say, you will not think the customs of the Galla contain greater hardships than those of Ambara." He then jabbered something to them in Galla, which Mr. Bruce did not understand. They all answered by the wildest howl he ever heard, and struck themselves upon the breast, apparently assenting.

"When Ras Michael, continued Fasil, came from the battle of Fagitta, the eyes of forty-four brethren

and relations of these people present were pulled out, at Gondar, the day after he arrived, and they were exposed upon the banks of the river Angrab, to starve, where most of them were devoured by the hyænas; you took three of them up to your house, nourished, clothed, protected, and kindly treated them." "They are now in good health," said Mr. Bruce, "and want nothing: the Iteghé will deliver them to you. The only other thing I have done to them was, I got them baptised: I do not know if that will displease them; I did it as an additional protection to them, and to give them a title to the charity of the people of Gondar." "As for that," said Fasil, "they do not care the least about baptism; it will neither do them good nor harm; they do not trouble themselves about these matters; give them meat and drink, and you will be very welcome to baptise them all from morning to night; after such good care, these Galla are all your brethren, they will die for you before they see you hurt." He then said something to them in Galla again, and they all gave another assent, and made a show of kissing our traveller's hand.

The Galla then sat down, and Mr. Bruce confesses, if they entertained any good will to him, it was not discernible in their countenances. After some other compliments from Fasil, who seemed to have changed his very nature since the first interview, our traveller having acknowledged the honour he did him, desired, as the greatest favour that he could show him, to send him as conveniently as possible to the head of the Nile, and return him and his attendants in safety. This, replied Fasil, is no request, I have granted it already; besides, I owe it to the commands of the king, whose servant I am. Since, however, it is so much at your heart, go in peace, I will provide you with all necessaries. If I am alive, and governor of Damot, as you are, we all know, a prudent and sen-

sible man, unsettled as the state of the country is, nothing disagreeable can befal you."

He then turned again to his seven chiefs, who all got up, and forming a circle, Fasil and they repeated a prayer about a minute long; the Galla seemingly with great devotion. "Now," said Fasil, "go in peace, you are a Galla; this is a curse upon them and their children, their corn, grass, and cattle, if ever they lift their hand against you or yours, or do not defend you to the utmost, if attacked by others, or endeavour to defeat any design they may hear is intended against you." Upon this, Mr. Bruce offered to kiss his hand before he took his leave, and they all went to the door of the tent, where there was a very handsome grey horse, bridled and saddled. "Take this horse," said Fasil, "as a present from me; it is not so good as your own, but, depend upon it, it is the horse which I rode upon yesterday, when I came here to encamp; but do not mount it yourself, drive it before you saddled and bridled as it is; no man of Maitsha will touch you when he sees that horse; it is the people of Maitsha, whose houses Michael has burnt, that you have to fear, and not your friends the Galla."

Mr. Bruce then took the most humble and respectful leave of him possible, and also of his new-acquired brethren, the Galla, praying inwardly he might never see them again.

On the 2d of November, they pursued their journey southward, and passed the church of Boskon Abbo.

At three quarters after ten in the morning, they crossed the small river Aroossi, which either gives its name to, or receives it from the district through which it passes. It is a clear, small, brisk stream; and its banks are covered with verdure not to be described.

All the little territory of Aroossi is by much the most pleasant that our traveller had seen in Abyssi-

nia; perhaps it is equal to any thing the east can produce; the whole is finely shaded with acacia-trees, which, in the sultry parts of Africa, produce the gum-arabic. These trees grow seldom above fifteen or sixteen feet high, then flatten and spread wide at the top, and touch each other, while the trunks are far asunder, and under a vertical sun, leave for many miles together, a free space to walk in a cool, delicious shade.

After passing the Assar, and several villages belonging to Goutto, they had, for the first time, a distinct view of the high mountain of Geesh, the long-wished for end of their dangerous and troublesome journey. Under this mountain are the fountains of the Nile; about thirty miles, as near as they could conjecture, in a straight line. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d of November, they came to the banks of the Nile; the passage is very difficult and dangerous, the bottom being full of holes, made by considerable springs, light sinking sand, and, at every little distance, large rocky stones; the eastern side was muddy and full of pits. The river here is about two hundred and sixty feet broad, and very rapid; its depth about four feet in the middle, and the sides not above two. Its banks are of a very gentle, easy descent; the western side is chiefly ornamented with high trees of the salix, or willow tribe, growing straight, without joints or knots, and bearing long-pointed pods full of a kind of cotton.

Our travellers having passed the Nile, arrived at Goutto, the village so called, and took up their lodgings in the house of a considerable person, who had abandoned it upon their approach, thinking them part of Fasil's army. Though this habitation was of use in protecting them from the poor, yet it hurt them by alarming, and so depriving them of the assistance of the opulent, such as the present owner, who, if he had known they were strangers from Gondar,

would have willingly staid and entertained them, being a relation and friend of Shalaka Welled Amlac.

As they heard distinctly the noise of the cataract, and had still a full hour and a half of light, Mr. Bruce determined to visit the waterfall, lest he should be thereby detained next morning. This, known by the name of the First Cataract of the Nile, did not, by its appearance, come up to the idea they had formed of it, being scarcely fifteen feet in height, and about sixty yards over; but in many places the sheet of water is interrupted, and leaves dry intervals of rock. The sides are neither so woody nor verdant as those of the cataract of the Assar; and it is in every shape less magnificent, or deserving to be seen, than is the noble cataract at Atlata, before described. Mr. Bruce, having satisfied his curiosity, galloped back the same road that he had come, without having seen a single person by the way.

On the 3d of November, at eight o'clock in the morning, they left the village of Goutto, and continuing their journey, at length arrived at a triple ridge of mountains, disposed one range behind the other, nearly in the form of three concentric circles, which seemed to suggest an idea, that they are Mountains of the Moon, or the Montes Lunæ of antiquity, at the foot of which the Nile was said to rise; in fact, there are no others. These mountains are all of them excellent soil, and every where covered with fine pasture; but as this unfortunate country had been for ages the theatre of war, the inhabitants have only ploughed and sown the top of them, out of the reach of enemies or marching armies.

Being arrived at the top of the mountain, they had a distinct view of all the remaining territory of Sacala, the mountain Geesh, and church of St. Michael Geesh. They saw, immediately below them, the Nile itself strangely diminished in size, and now only a brook, that had scarcely water to turn a mill. Mr. Bruce could not satiate himself with the sight, re-

volving in his mind all those classical prophecies that had given the Nile up to perpetual obscurity and concealment. He was, however, awakened out of this delightful reverie, by an alarm that they had lost Woldo, their guide. Though Mr. Bruce long had expected something from his behaviour, he did not think, for his own sake, it could be his intention to leave them. Various conjectures immediately followed; some thought he had resolved to betray and rob them; some conceived it was an instruction of Fasil's to him, in order to their being treacherously murdered; some again supposed he was slain by the wild beasts. Mr. Bruce began to think that he might be ill; for he had before complained, and that the sickness might have overcome him upon the road; and this too, was the opinion of Ayto Aylo's servant, who said, however, with a significant look, that he could not be far off; they, therefore, sent him, and one of the men that drove the mules, back to seek after him; and they had not gone but a few hundred yards when they found him coming, but so worn out, that he said he could go no farther than the church, where he was positively resolved to take up his abode that night. Mr. Bruce felt his pulse, and saw, he thought, evidently, that nothing ailed him. Without losing his temper, however, Mr. Bruce told him firmly, that he perceived he was an impostor; that he should consider that he was a physician, and that the feeling of his hand told him as plain as his tongue could have done, that nothing was the matter with him. He seemed dismayed after this, said little, and only desired them to halt for a few minutes, and he should be better; "for," says he, "it requires strength in us all to pass another great hill before we arrive at Geesh."

"Look you," said Mr. Bruce, "lying is to no purpose; I know where Geesh is as well as you do, and that we have no more mountains or bad places to pass through; therefore, if you choose to stay behind,

you may ; but to-morrow I shall inform Welleta Yasous, at Buré, of your behaviour." He said this with the most determined air possible, and it had the desired effect, as it perfectly cured Woldo's lameness.

The whole company having passed the ford of the Nile, and Woldo, seeming to walk as well as ever, they ascended a gentle rising hill, near the top of which is St. Michael Geesh. The Nile here is not four yards over, and not above four inches deep, where they crossed it; it was indeed, become a very trifling brook, but ran swiftly over a bottom of small stones, with hard black rock appearing amidst them: it is at this place very easy to pass, and very limpid, but, a little lower, full of inconsiderable falls; the ground rises gently from the river to the southward, full of small hills and eminences, which you ascend and descend almost imperceptibly. The whole company had halted on the north side of St. Michael's church, and there Mr. Bruce reached them, without affecting any hurry.

Soon after, Woldo desired to speak with Mr. Bruce alone, taking Aylo's servant along with him. "Now," said our traveller, very calmly, "I know by your face you are going to tell me a lie. I do swear to you solemnly, you never, by that means, will obtain any thing from me, no, not so much as a good word; truth and good behaviour will get you every thing; what appears a great matter in your sight is not perhaps of such value in mine; but nothing except truth and good behaviour will answer to you; now I know for a certainty you are no more sick than I am."—"Sir," said he, with a very confident look, you are right; I did counterfeit; but I thought it best to tell you I was ill, not to be obliged to discover another reason that has much more weight with me, why I cannot shew myself at the sources of the Nile, which I confess are not very distant, though I declare to you there is still a hill between you and those sources." "And pray," said Mr. Bruce, calmly, "what is

this mighty reason?" "You know as well as I," said he, "that my master Fasil defeated the Agows, at the battle of Benja. I was there with my master, and killed several men, among whom some were of the Agows of this village Geesh; and you know the usage of this country, when a man, in these circumstances, falls into their hands, his blood must pay for their blood."

Mr. Bruce burst out into a violent fit of laughter, which very much disconcerted him. "There," said our traveller, "did not I say to you it was a lye that you was going to tell me? Do not think I disbelieve or dispute with you the vanity of having killed men; many men were slain at that battle; somebody must, and you may have been the person who slew them; but do you think that I can believe that Fasil could rule the Agows in the manner he does, if he could not put a servant of his in safety among them twenty miles from his residence." "Come, come," said Aylo's servant to Woldo, "did you not hear that truth and good behaviour will get you every thing you ask?" "Sir," continued he, "I see this affair vexes you, and what this foolish man wants will neither make you richer nor poorer; he has taken a great desire for that crimson silk sash which you wear about your middle. I told him to stay till you went back to Gondar; but he says, he is to go no farther than to the house of Shalaka Welled Amlac, in Maitsha, and does not return to Gondar; I told him to stay till you had put your mind at ease, by seeing the fountains of the Nile, which you are so anxious about. He said, after that had happened, he was sure you would not give it him; for you seemed to think little of the cataract at Goutto, and of all the fine rivers and churches which he had shown you; except the head of the Nile shall be finer than all these, when, in reality, it will be just like another river, you will then be dissatisfied, and not give him the sash."

Mr. Bruce thought there was something very na-

tural in these suspicions of Woldo, and to ease them, our author having taken of his sash, "Here is your sash, Woldo, said he; but mark what I have said, and now most seriously repeat to you, truth and good behaviour will alone get any thing from me; but if in the course of this journey, you play one trick more, though ever so trifling, I will bring such a vengeance upon your head, that you shall not be able to find a place to hide it in."

He took the sash, but seemed terrified at the threat, and began to make apologies. "Come, come, said Mr. Bruce, we understand each other; no more words; it is now late, lose no more time, but carry me to Geesh, and the head of the Nile directly, without preamble, and shew me the hill that separates me from it." He then carried our traveller round to the south side of the church, out of the grove of trees that surrounded it. "This is the hill, said he, looking archly, that when you was on the other side of it, was between you and the fountains of the Nile; look at that hillock of green sod in the middle of that watery spot, it is in that the two fountains of the Nile are to be found: Geesh is on the face of the rock where yon green trees are; if you go the length of the fountains, pull off your shoes, for these people are all Pagans, and they believe in nothing that you believe, but only in this river, to which they pray every day as if it were God; but this perhaps you may do likewise." Half undressed as Mr. Bruce was, by loss of his sash, and throwing his shoes off, he ran down the hill, and having reached the island of green turf, which was in form of an altar, apparently the work of art, he stood in rapture over the principal fountain, which rises in the middle of it.

It is easier to guess than describe the situation of Mr. Bruce's mind at that moment—standing on that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and enquiry of both ancients and moderns, for the course of near three thousand years. Kings had attempted

this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last, only by the difference of the numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the disappointed which had uniformly, and without exception, followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour, had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprise and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography.

Mr. Bruce now proceeds to describe the sources of the Nile, which have, as he says, remained to our days as unknown as they were to antiquity, no good or genuine voucher having yet been produced capable of proving that they were before discovered, or seen by the curious eye of any traveller, from the earliest ages to this day; and it is with confidence Mr. Bruce proposes to his reader, that he will consider him as still standing at these fountains, and patiently hear from him the recital of the origin and circumstances of this the most famous river in the world, which are not to be found in books, or from any other human authority whatever, and which, by the care and attention he has paid to the subject, will, he hopes, be found satisfactory here.

Divine honours are paid by the Agows of Damot to the Nile; they worship the river, and thousands of cattle have been offered, and still are offered, to the spirit supposed to reside at its source. They are divided into clans, or tribes; and it is worthy of observation, that it is said there never was a feud, or hereditary animosity between any two of these clans; or, if the seeds of any such were sown, they did not vegetate longer than till the next general convocation of all tribes, who meet annually at the source of the river, to which they sacrifice, calling it by the name of the God of Peace.

Geesh, though not farther distant from these than six hundred yards, is not in sight of the sources of the Nile. The country upon the same plain with the fountains, terminates in a cliff about three hundred yards deep down to the plain of Assoa, which flat country continues in the same subaltern degree of elevation, till it meets the Nile again about seventy miles southward, after it has made the circuit of the provinces of Gojam and Damot.

A prodigious cave is in the middle of this cliff, in a direction straight north towards the fountains, whether the work of nature or art, Mr. Bruce cannot determine; it is a natural labyrinth, large enough to contain the inhabitants of the village and their cattle. In this large cliff, Mr. Bruce tired himself part of several days, endeavouring to reach as far northward as possible; but the air, when he had advanced something above one hundred yards, seemed to threaten to extinguish his candle by its dampness, and the people were besides not at all disposed to gratify his curiosity farther, after assuring him that there was nothing at the end more remarkable than what he then saw, which he had reason to believe was the case. The face of this cliff, which fronts to the south, has a most picturesque appearance from the plain of Assoa below, parts of the houses at every stage appearing, through the thickets of trees and bushes, with which the whole face of the cliff is thickly covered; impenetrable fences of thorn hide the mouths of the caverns above mentioned, even from sight; there is no other communication with the houses, either from above or below, but by narrow-winding sheep-paths, which through these thorns are very difficult to be discerned, for all are allowed to be overgrown with the utmost wildness, as a part of their defence; lofty and large trees, most of them of the thorny kind, tower high up above the edge of the cliff, and seem to be a fence against people falling down into the plain; these are all at their proper season covered



Kirk del. Saunders sc.

Ceremony on entering an Abyssinian Church.

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with flowers of different sorts and colours, so are the bushes below on the face of the cliff.

From the edge of the cliff of Geesh, above where the village is situated, the ground slopes with a very easy descent due north, and lands you at the edge of a triangular marsh, above eighty six yards broad, in the line of the fountains, and two hundred and eighty-six yards two feet from the edge of the cliff above the house of the priest of the river, where Mr. Bruce resided.

In the middle of the marsh, near the bottom of the mountain of Geesh, arises a hillock of a circular form, about three feet from the surface of the marsh itself, though apparently founded much deeper in it. The diameter of this is something short of twelve feet, it is surrounded by a shallow trench, which collects the water, and voids it eastward; it is firmly built with sod or earthern turf, brought from the sides, and constantly kept in repair; and this is the altar upon which all their religious ceremonies are performed. In the middle of this altar is a hole, obviously made, or at least enlarged, by the hand of man. It is kept clear of grass, or other aquatic plants, and the water in it is perfectly pure and limpid, but has no ebullition or motion of any kind discernible upon its surface. This mouth, or opening of the source, is somewhat less than three feet diameter, and the water stood at that time, the 5th of November, about two inches from the lip or brim, nor did it either increase or diminish during all the time of Mr. Bruce's stay at Geesh, though they made plentiful use of it. This spring is about six feet six inches deep.

At the distance of ten feet from the first of these springs, a little to the west of south, is the second fountain, above eleven inches in diameter; but this is eight feet three inches deep; and about twenty feet distant from the first, is the third source, its mouth being something more than two feet large, and it is five feet eight inches deep. Both these last fountains

stand in the middle of small altars, made, like the former, of firm sod, but neither of them above three feet diameter, and having a foot of less elevation than the first. The altar in this third source seemed almost dissolved by the water, which in both stood nearly up to the brim; at the foot of each appeared a clear and brisk running rill; these uniting, joined the water in the trench of the first altar, and then proceeded directly out, pointing eastward, in a quantity that would have filled a pipe of about two inches diameter. The water from these fountains is very light and good, and perfectly tasteless; it was at this time most intensely cold, though exposed to the mid-day without shelter, there being no trees nor bushes near it.

On the 5th of November, the day after Mr. Bruce's arrival at Geesh, the weather perfectly clear, cloudless, and nearly calm, in all respects well adapted to observation, being extremely anxious to ascertain, beyond the power of controversy, the precise spot on the globe that this fountain had so long occupied unknown, he pitched his tent on the north edge of the cliff, immediately above the priest's house, and with the most minute exactness determined the latitude of the place of observation to be 10 deg. 59 min. 10 sec. and the longitude to be 36 deg. 55 min. 30 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The very night of Mr. Bruce's arrival, melancholy reflections upon his present state, the doubtfulness of his return in safety, were he permitted to make the attempt, and the fears that even this would be refused, the consciousness of the pain he was then occasioning to many worthy individuals, expecting daily that information concerning his situation, which it was not in his power to give them; some other thoughts, perhaps, still nearer the heart than those, crowded upon his mind, and forbade all approach of sleep. He was, at that very moment, in possession of what had, for many years, been the principal object of his ambition and wishes; indifference, which from the usual infirmity of human nature, follows, at least for

a time, complete enjoyment, had taken place of it. The marsh and the fountains, upon comparison with the rise of many of our rivers, became now a trifling object in his sight. He remembered that magnificent scene in his own native country, where the Tweed, Clyde, and Annan rise in one hill; he had seen the rise of the Rhine and Rhone, and the more magnificent sources of the Soane; and he began, in his present mood, to treat the enquiry about the source of the Nile as a violent effort of a distempered fancy. Grief or despondency now rolling upon him like a torrent, he started from his bed in the utmost agony; he went to the door of his tent, every thing was still; the Nile, at whose head he stood, was not capable either to promote or to interrupt his slumbers, but the coolness and serenity of the night braced his nerves, and chased away those phantoms that, while in bed, had oppressed and tormented him.

Numerous dangers, hardships, and sorrows had indeed beset him through this half of his excursion; but it was still as true, that another Guide, more powerful than his own courage, health, or understanding, if any of these can be called man's own, had uniformly protected him in all that tedious half; he found his confidence not abated, that still the same Guide was able to conduct him to his now wished-for home. He immediately resumed his former fortitude, considered the Nile, indeed, as no more than rising from springs, as all other rivers do, but widely different in this, that it was the palm for three thousand years held out to all the nations of the world as a *detur dignissimo*.

Mr. Bruce had procured from the English ships, while at Jidda, some quick silver, perfectly pure, and heavier than the common sort; warming, therefore, the tube gently at the fire, he filled it with this quick-silver, and, to his great surprise, found that it stood at the height of twenty-two English inches; neither did it vary sensibly from that height any of

the following days he staid at Geesh; and thence he inferred that, at the sources of the Nile, he was more than two miles above the level of the sea. On the 6th of November, at a quarter past five in the morning, Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 44 deg. at noon 96 deg. and at sun-set 46 deg. It was, as to sense, cold at night, and still more so an hour before sun-rise.

The Nile, keeping nearly in the middle of the marsh, runs east for thirty yards, with a very little increase of stream, but perfectly visible, till met by the grassy brink of the land declining from Sacala. This turns it round gradually to the north-east, and then due north; and, in the two miles it flows in that direction, the river receives many small contributions from springs that rise in the banks on each side of it; there are two, particularly one on the hill at the back of St. Michael Geesh, the other a little lower, on the other side, on the ground declining from Sacala. These last-mentioned springs are more than double its quantity; and being arrived under the hill whereon stands the church of St. Michael Sacala, about two miles from its source, it there becomes a stream that would turn a common mill, shallow, clear, and running over a rocky bottom about three yards wide: this, however, must be understood to be variable according to the season, and the present observations are applicable to the 5th of November, when the rains had ceased for several weeks.

Our traveller says, nothing can be more beautiful than this spot; the small rising hills about them were all thick covered with verdure, especially with clover, the largest and finest he ever saw; the tops of the heights crowned with trees of a prodigious size; the stream, at the banks of which they were sitting, was limpid and pure as the finest crystal; the ford covered thick with a bushy kind of tree that seemed to affect to grow to no height, but rather to court the surface of the water, whilst it bore in prodigious quantities,

a beautiful yellow flower, not unlike a single wild rose of that colour, but without thorns.

After having stepped over the ford fifty times, he observed it no larger than a common mill-stream. The Nile, from this ford, turns to the westward, and after running over loose stones occasionally in that direction, about four miles farther, the angle of inclination increasing greatly, broken water, and a fall commences of about six feet, and thus it gets rid of the mountainous place of its nativity, and issues into the plain of Goutto, where is its first cataract. Arrived in the plain of Goutto, the river seems to have lost all its violence, and scarcely is seen to flow; but at the same time it there makes so many sharp unnatural windings, that it differs from any other river Mr. Bruce ever saw, making about twenty sharp angular peninsulas in the course of five miles, through a bare, marshy plain of clay, quite destitute of trees, and exceedingly inconvenient and unpleasant to travel. After passing this plain, it turns due north, receives the tribute of many small streams, the Gometti, the Googneri, and the Kebezza, which descend from the mountains of Aformasha; and, united, fall into the Nile about twenty miles below its source; it begins here to run rapidly, and again receives a number of beautiful rivulets, which have their rise in the heights of Litchambara, the semicircular range of mountains that pass behind, and seem to inclose Aformasha. Here it begins to become a considerable stream; its banks high and broken, covered with old timber trees for the space of about three miles; it inclines to the north-east, and winds exceedingly, and is then joined by the small river Diwa from the east. As the mere names of places, through which the Nile passes, can afford very little amusement to our readers, we shall only observe, that after washing Upper and Lower Egypt, it at last disembogues itself into the Mediterranean.

Mr. Bruce now proceeds to investigate the reason

of the inundations of the Nile, and observes, that it is an observation, which holds good through all the works of Providence, that although God, in the beginning, gave an instance of his almighty power, by creating the world with one single *fiat*, yet, in the laws he has laid down for the maintaining order and regularity in the details of his creation, he has invariably produced all these effects by the least degree of power possible, and by those means that seem most obvious to human conception. But it seemed, however, not according to the tenor of his ways and wisdom, to create a country like Egypt, without springs, or even dews, and subject to a nearly vertical sun, that he might save it by so extraordinary an intervention as was the annual inundation, and make it the most fertile spot of the universe.

Whatever were the conjectures of the dreamers of antiquity, modern travellers and philosophers, describing without system or prejudice what their eyes saw, have found that the inundation of Egypt has been effected by natural means, perfectly consonant with the ordinary rules of Providence, and the laws given for the government of the rest of the universe. They have found that the plentiful fall of the tropical rains produced every year at the same time, by the action of a violent sun, has been uniformly, without miracle, the cause of Egypt's being regularly overflowed. The sun being nearly stationary for some days in the tropic of Capricorn, the air there becomes so much rarefied, that the heavier winds, charged with watery particles, rush in upon it from the Atlantic on the west, and from the Indian Ocean on the east. The south wind, moreover, loaded with heavy vapour, condensed in that high ridge of mountains not far south of the line, which forms a spine to the peninsula of Africa, and, running northward with the other two, furnish wherewithal to restore the equilibrium.

Immediately after the sun has passed the line, he

begins the rainy season to the southward, still as he approaches the zenith of each place; but the situation and necessities of this country being varied, the manner of promoting the inundation is changed. A high chain of mountains runs from about 6 deg. south all along the middle of the continent towards the Cape of Good Hope, and intersects the southern part of the peninsula, nearly in the same manner that the river Nile does the northern. A strong wind from the south, stopping the progress of the condensed vapours, dashes them against the cold summits of this ridge of mountains, and forms many rivers which escape in the direction either east or west, as the level presents itself. If this is towards the west, they fall down the sides of the mountains, into the Atlantic; and if on the east, into the Indian ocean.

Three remarkable appearances attend the inundation of the Nile. Every morning in Abyssinia is clear, and the sun shines; about nine, a small cloud, not above four feet broad, appears in the east, whirling violently round, as if upon an axis; but, arrived near the zenith, it first abates its motion, then loses its form, extends itself greatly, and seems to call up vapours from all opposite quarters. These clouds having attained nearly the same height, rush against each other with great violence. The air impelled before the heaviest mass, or swiftest mover, makes an impression of its own form in the collection of clouds opposite, and the moment it has taken possession of the space made to receive it, the most violent thunder possible to be conceived instantly follows, with rain; after some hours, the sky again clears, with a wind at north, and it is always disagreeably cold when the thermometer is below 63 degrees.

The second thing remarkable is the variation of the thermometer; when the sun is in the southern tropic, 36 deg. distant from the zenith of Gondar, it is seldom lower than seventy-two degrees; but it falls to

sixty and fifty-nine degrees when the sun is immediately vertical; so happily does the approach of rain compensate the heat of a too scorching sun.

The third is that remarkable stop in the extent of the rains northward, when the sun, that has conducted the vapours from the line, and should seem, now more than ever, to be in possession of them, is here over-ruled suddenly, till, on its return to the zenith of Gerri, again it resumes the absolute command over the rain; and reconducts it to the line, to furnish distant deluges to the southward.

Mr. Bruce says it is in February, March, or April only, the plague begins in Egypt. He does not consider it an endemical disease, but rather thinks it comes from Constantinople with merchandise, or passengers, and at this time of the year, that the air having attained a degree of putridity proper to receive it by the long absence of dews, the infection is thereto joined, and continues to rage till it is suddenly stopped by the dews occasioned by a refreshing mixture of rain water, which is poured out into the Nile at the beginning of the inundation.

The first and most remarkable sign of the change brought about in the air, is the sudden stopping of the plague at St. John's day: every person, though shut up from society for months before, buys, sells, and communicates with his neighbour without any sort of apprehension; and it was never known, as far as Mr. Bruce could learn upon fair enquiry, that any one fell sick of the plague after this anniversary.

Our traveller then mentions a circumstance, which is universally known, and cannot be denied. The Turks and Moors are known to be predestinarians: they believe the hour of man's death is so immutably fixed, that nothing can either advance or defer it an instant. Secure in this principle, they expose in the market-place, immediately after St. John's day, the clothes of the many thousands that have died during the late continuance of the plague, all which imbib

the moist air of the evening and the morning, are handled, bought, put on, and worn without apprehension of danger; and though they consist of furs, cotton, silk, and woollen clothes, which are stuffs the most retentive of the infection, no accident happens to those who wear them from this their happy confidence.

Mr. Bruce now returns back to his guide, Woldo, whom they had left settling their reception with the chief of the village of Geesh. They found the measures taken by this man such as convinced them at once of his capacity and attachment. The miserable Agows, assembled all around him, were too much interested in the appearance our travellers made, not to be exceeding inquisitive how long their stay was to be among them. They saw, by the horse driven before them, that they belonged to Fasil, and suspected, for the same reason, that they were to maintain them; or, in other words, that they should live at discretion among them, as long as they chose to tarry there; but Woldo, with great address, had dispelled those fears almost as soon as they were formed. He informed them of the king's grant to Mr. Bruce of the village of Geesh; that Fasil's tyranny and avarice would end that day, and another master was come to pass a cheerful time among them, with a resolution to pay for every labour they were ordered to perform, and purchase all things for ready money: he added, moreover, that no military service was farther to be exacted from them, either by the king or governor of Damot, nor from their present master, as he had no enemies. They found this news had circulated with great rapidity, and they met with a hearty welcome.

Woldo had asked a house from the shum, or priest of the Nile, who very civilly had granted Mr. Bruce his own; it was just large enough to serve him, but they were obliged to take possession of four or five others, and they were scarcely settled in these, when a servant arrived from Fasil, to intimate to the shum

his surrendry of the property and sovereignty of Geesh to Mr. Bruce, in consequence of a grant from the king; he brought with him a fine, large, milk-white cow, two sheep, and two goats. Fasil also sent them six jars of hydromel, fifty wheat loaves of very excellent bread, and to this Welleta Yasous had added two middle sized horns of excellent strong spirits. Their hearts were now perfectly at ease, and they passed a very merry evening.

The shum was struck with the appearance of our travellers' wealth, and the generosity of their conduct, and told Woldo that he insisted, since they were in his houses, they would take his daughters for their house-keepers. The proposal was a most reasonable one, and readily accepted. He accordingly sent for three in an instant, and they delivered them their charge. The eldest took it upon her readily, she was about sixteen years of age, of a stature about the middle size, but she was remarkably genteel, and, colour apart, her features would have made her a beauty in any country in Europe; she was, besides, very sprightly; they understood not one word of her language, though she comprehended very easily the signs that they made. This nymph of the Nile was called, by nick name, Irepone, which signifies some animal that destroys mice.

After disposing of some of their stock in purchases, she thought herself obliged to render our travellers an account, and give back the residue at night to Woldo, with a protestation that she had not stolen or kept any thing to herself. Mr. Bruce looked upon this regular accounting as an ungenerous treatment of their benefactress. Mr. Bruce called on Woldo, and made him produce a parcel that contained the same with the first commodities they had given her; and this consisted of beads, antimony, small scissars, knives, and needles. He then brought out a packet of the same that had not been broken, and told her, they were intended to be distributed among her friends, and that they expected no account from her; on the contrray,

that, after she had bestowed these, to buy them necessaries, and for any purposes she pleased, he had still as many more to leave her at parting, for the trouble she had given herself. Mr. Bruce often thought the head of the little savage would have turned with the possession of so much riches, and so great confidence; and it was impossible to be so blinded, as not to see that our traveller had already made great progress in her affections. To the number of trifles he had added one ounce of gold, value about fifty shillings sterling, which he thought would defray their expences all the time they staid; and having now perfectly arranged the economy of their family, nothing remained but to make the proper observations.

Once a year, upon the principal fountain and altar already mentioned, on the first appearance of the dog-star, or, as others say, eleven days after, the shum assembles the heads of the clans; and having sacrificed a black heifer that never bore a calf, they plunge the head of it into this fountain, they then wrap it up in its own hide, so as no more to be seen, after having sprinkled the hide within and without with water from the fountain. The carcase is then split in half and cleaned with extraordinay care, and thus prepared, it is laid upon the hillock over the first fountain, washed all over with its water, while the elders, or considerable people, carry water in their hands joined from the two other fountains; they then assemble upon the small hill a little were of St. Michael, where they divide the carcase into pieces corresponding to the number of the tribes, and each tribe has its privilege, or pretensions to particular parts. Geesh has a principal slice, though the most inconsiderable territory of the whole; Sacala has the next; and Zeegam, the most considerable of them all in power and riches, has the least of the whole. After having ate this carcase raw, according to their custom, and drank the Nile-water, to the exclusion of

any other liquor, they pile up the bones on the place where they sit, and burn them to ashes.

Having finished their bloody banquet, they carry the head, close wrapt from sight in the hide, into the cavern, which they say reaches below the fountains, and there, by a common light, without torches, or a number of candles, as denoting a solemnity, they perform their worship, the particulars of which Mr. Bruce never could learn; it is a piece of free masonry, which every body knows, and nobody ventures to reveal. At a certain time of the night they leave their cave; but our traveller could not learn what became of the head, whether it was ate, or buried, or how consumed. The Abyssinians have a story, probably created by themselves, that the devil appears to them; and with him they eat the head, swearing obedience to him upon certain conditions, that of sending rain, and a good season for their bees and cattle: however this may be, it is certain that they pray to the spirit residing in the river, whom they call the Everlasting God, Light of the World, Eye of the World, God of Peace, their Saviour, and Father of the Universe.

Their landlord, the shum, made no scruple of reciting his prayers for seasonable rain, for plenty of grass, for the preservation of serpents, at least of one kind of this reptile; he also deprecated thunder in these prayers, which he pronounced very pathetically with a kind of tone or song; he called the river, "Most high God, Saviour of the World;" of the other words Mr. Bruce could not well judge but by the interpretation of Woldo. Those titles, however, of divinity which he gave to the river, he could perfectly comprehend without an interpreter, and for these only he is a voucher.

Mr. Bruce asked the priest, into whose good graces he had purposely insinuated himself, if ever any spirit had been seen by him? He answered, without hesitation, Yes; very frequently. He said he had

seen the spirit the evening of the 3rd, just as the sun was setting, under a tree, which he shewed our traveller at a distance, who told him of the death of a son, and also that a party from Fasil's army was coming; that, being afraid, he consulted his serpent, who ate readily and heartily, from which he knew no harm was to befal him from his visitors. Mr. Bruce asked him, if he could prevail on the spirit to appear to him. He said he could not venture to make that request. He said he was of a very graceful figure and appearance; he thought rather older than middle age; but he seldom chose to look at his face; he had a long white beard, his clothes not like theirs, of leather, but like silk, of the fashion of the country. Mr. Bruce asked him, how he was certain it was not a man? He laughed, or rather sneered, shaking his head and saying, "No, no, it is no man, but a spirit." Mr. Bruce then desired to know why he prayed against thunder. He said, because it was hurtful to the bees, their great revenue being honey and wax: then, why he prayed for serpents? he replied, Because they taught him the coming of good or evil. It seems they have all several of these creatures in the neighbourhood, and the richer sort always in their houses, whom they take care of, and feed before they undertake a journey, or any affair of consequence. They take this animal from his hole, and put butter and milk before him, of which he is extravagantly fond; if he does not eat, ill-fortune is near at hand.

The shum's name was Kefla Abay, or servant of the river; he was a man about seventy, and rather infirm. He conceived that he might have had eighty-four or eighty-five children. That honourable charge which he possessed had been in his family from the beginning of the world, as he imagined. Indeed, if all predecessors had as numerous families as he, there was no probability of the succession devolving to strangers. He had a long white beard, and very mo-

derately thick; an ornament rare in Abyssinia, where they have seldom any hair upon their chin. Round his body he had a skin wrapt, and tied with a broad belt. Above this he wore a cloak with the hood, which covered his head; he was bare legged, but had sandals much like those upon ancient statues; these, however, he put off as soon as ever he approached the bog where the Nile rises, which our travellers were all likewise obliged to do. They were allowed to drink the water, but make no other use of it. None of the inhabitants of Geesh wash themselves, or their clothes, in the Nile, but in a stream that falls from the mountain of Geesh down into the plain of Asso, which runs south, and meets the Nile in its turn northward, passing the country of the Gafars and Gongas.

The Agows, in whose country the Nile rises, are, in point of number, one of the most considerable nations in Abyssinia; when their whole force is raised, which seldom happens, they can bring to the field four thousand horse, and a great number of foot; they were, however, once much more powerful; several unsuccessful battles, and the perpetual inroads of the Galla, have much diminished their strength. Their riches, however, are still greater than their power, for though their province in length is no where sixty miles, nor half that in breadth, yet Gondar, and all the neighbouring country, depend for the necessaries of life; cattle, honey, butter, wheat, hides, wax, and a number of such articles, upon the Agows, who came constantly in succession, a thousand and fifteen hundred at a time, loaded with these commodities, to the capital.

It may naturally be supposed, that, in a long carriage, such as that of a hundred miles in such a climate, butter must melt, and be in a state of fusion, consequently very near putrefaction; this is prevented by the root of an herb, called Mocmoco, yellow in colour, and in a shape nearly resembling a carrot;

this they bruise and mix with their butter, and a very small quantity preserves it fresh for a considerable time.

Besides the market of Gondar, the neighbouring black savages, the woolly-headed Shangalla, purchase the greatest part of these commodities from them, and many others, which they bring from the capital when they return thence; they receive in exchange elephants' teeth, rhinoceroses' horns, gold in small pellets, and a quantity of very fine cotton.

The clothing of the Agows is all of hides, which they soften and manufacture in a method peculiar to themselves; and this they wear in the rainy season, when the weather is cold, for here the rainy seasons are of long duration and violent. Their clothing is like a shirt down to their feet, and girded with a belt or girdle about their middle; the lower part of it resembles a large double petticoat, one ply of which they turn back over their shoulders, fastening it with a broach or skewer, across their breast before. The women are generally thin, and, like the men, below the middle size. There is no such thing as barrenness known among them. They begin to bear children before eleven; they marry generally about that age, and are marriageable two years before; they generally close child-bearing before they are thirty.

Besides what they sell and what they pay to the governor of Damot, the Agows have a particular tribute which they present to the king: one thousand debra of honey, each debra containing about sixty pounds weight, being a large earthen vessel. They pay, moreover, fifteen hundred oxen, and one thousand ounces of gold. The officer that keeps the accounts, and sees the rents paid, is called Agow Miziker; his post is worth one thousand ounces of gold; and by this it may be judged with what economy this revenue is collected.

Though Mr. Bruce had with him two large tents sufficient for his people, he was advised to take pos-

session of the houses, to secrete their mules and horses from thieves in the night, as also from the assaults of wild beasts, of which this country is full. Almost every small collection of houses has behind it a large cave, the subterraneous dwelling, dug in the rock, of a prodigious capacity, and which must have been a work of great labour. It is not possible, at this distance of time, to say whether these caverns were the ancient habitation of the Agows when they were Troglodites, or whether they were intended for retreats upon any alarm of an irruption of the Galla into their country.

On the 9th of November, Mr. Bruce having finished his remarks relating to these remarkable places, traced again on foot the whole course of this river from its source to the plain of Goutto. He was unattended by any one, having with him only two hunting-dogs, and his gun in his hand. The quantity of game of all sorts, especially the deer kind, was, indeed, surprising; but though he was, as usual, a very successful sportsman, he was obliged, for want of help, to leave each deer where he fell.

Our travellers now began to think of departing. They had passed their time in perfect harmony; the address of Woldo, and the great attachment of their friend Irepone, had kept their house in a cheerful abundance. They had lived, it is true, too magnificently for philosophers, but neither idly nor riotously; and he believes, never will any *sovereign* of Geesh be again so popular, or reign over his subjects with greater mildness. Mr. Bruce had practised medicine gratis, and killed, for three days successively, a cow each day for the poor and the neighbours. He had clothed the high priest of the Nile from head to foot, as also his two sons, and decorated two of his daughters with beads of all the colours of the rainbow; adding every other little present they seemed fond of, or that our travellers thought would be agreeable. As for their amiable Irepone, they had

reserved for her the choicest of their presents, the most valuable of every article they had with them, and a large proportion of every one of them; they also gave her some gold; but she, more generous and nobler in her sentiments than they, seemed to pay little attention to what announced to her the separation from her friends; she tore her fine hair, which she had every day before braided in a newer and more graceful manner; she threw herself upon the ground in the house, and refused to see our travellers mount on horseback, or take their leave, and came not to the door till they were already set out; then followed them with her good wishes and her eyes as far as she could see or be heard.

Mr. Bruce took his leave of Kefla Abay, the venerable priest of the most famous river in the world, who recommended him with great earnestness to the care of his god, which, as one of our travellers humorously enough observed, meant nothing less than he hoped the devil would take him. All the young men in the village, with lances and shields, attended them to St. Michael Sacala, that is, to the borders of their country, and end of Mr. Bruce's little sovereignty.

On the 10th of November 1770, our travellers left Geesh on their return to Gondar. Next day Mr. Bruce settled with his former guide, Woldo, to his perfect satisfaction, and cancelled entirely the memory of some disagreeable things passed. He then consigned our traveller very solemnly to Ayto Aylo's servant, in presence of Welled Amlac, and then took his leave.

On the 12th of November, they set out from the hospitable house of Shalaka Welled Amlac. Their landlord accompanied them in person to the ford; and by this, and his readiness to shew them what he thought worthy their curiosity, and by his care in ascertaining for them the distances and situations of places, he

gave them a certain proof he was well contented, and therefore, that they had nothing to fear.

Immediately on the top of the hill ascending from the river is the small town of Delakus, which gives the ford where they passed its name; it is more considerable in appearance than is the generality of these small towns or villages in Abyssinia, because inhabited by Mahometans only, a trading, frugal, intelligent, and industrious people.

Their conductor Welled Amlac, put our travellers in mind of the service he had rendered them, and they were not unmindful of him. He had been received with very great respect at the last place, and it is incredible with what expedition he swallowed near a pound of raw flesh cut from the buttocks of the animal yet alive. After some horns of hydromeal, he passed to the other side, where he was received with still more affection, if possible, by Welleta Michael; and there he began again to eat the raw meat with an appetite as keen as if he had fasted for whole days; he then consigned our travellers to Ayto Welleta Michael, his friend, who furnished them with a servant to conduct them on their way, while he himself remained that night at the ford.

Maitsha, the place our travellers were now preparing to leave, is governed by ninety-nine shums, and is an appendage of the office of Betwuder, to whom it pays two thousand ounces of gold. The people are originally of those Galla west of the Abay, who had been transplanted thither at different periods.

Without any incident worth recording, they arrived at Gondar; and thus finished their long-projected expedition, to the fountains of the Nile, having, in their return home, made as it were, the chord of the arch of their former journey, or about ninety-three miles.

It was not till the 23d of November, owing to the troubles that then reigned in the capital of Abyssinia,

that Mr. Bruce saw the Iteghé. When he came first into her presence, he kneeled, with his forehead to the ground. She put on a very serious countenance, and, without desiring him to rise, said gravely to her people about her, "There, see that madman, who in times like these, when we the natives of the country are not safe in our own houses, rashly, against all advice, runs out into the fields to be hunted like a wild beast by every robber, of which this country is full." She then made him a sign to rise, which he did, and kissed her hand. "Madam," said he, "if I did this, it was in consequence of the good lessons your majesty deigned to give me. I have heard you say, when you was threatened by a multitude of powerful enemies, that you was not affraid,—you was in God's hands, and not in their's. Now, madam, Providence has hitherto protected you: I have, in humble imitation of you, had the same Christian confidence, and I have succeeded; I knew I was in God's hands, and therefore valued not the bad intentions of all the robbers in Abyssinia."

Mr. Bruce next details the history of the Abyssinians during his residence among them. But, as this contains only a detail of horrid rebellions, battles, blood, and slaughter, our readers can take little interest in it. We shall only observe, that Mr. Bruce seems to have shewn great courage in several instances, and on that account, was presented by the king with a large chain of gold, with very massy links, which was doubled twice, and then put it over Mr. Bruce's neck. The chain consisted of one hundred and eighty-four links, each of them weighing three penny-weights and one twelfth of fine gold; "It was with the utmost reluctance," says Mr. Bruce, "that being in want of every thing, I sold a great part of this honourable distinction at Sennaar in my return home. It is hoped my successors will never have the same excuse I had for farther diminishing this honourable monument which I have left them."

After the troubles had ceased, and Ras Michael, o whom we had before spoken, was sent away prisone to Gondar, the queen returned to Koscam, where Mr. Bruce passed a great part of his time; but his health declining every day, he had obtained, with great difficulty, liberty from her, to attempt his return home. The king, too, after a hundred exceptions and provisos, had at length been brought to give an unwilling consent.

Captain Thomas Price, of the Lion of Bombay, had been obliged to continue at Jidda, till the season after Mr. Bruce went from thence to Abyssinia. He had already heard once from him, and now a second time. He informed Mr. Bruce that his countrymen had been in the greatest pain for him; that several reports had been current, both at Jidda, and Mocha, of his having been assassinated; sometimes it was said by the naybe of Masuah; sometimes that it happened at Gondar; by others at Sennaar, at his return home. Captain Price wrote in this last letter, that, thinking Mr. Bruce must be distressed for want of money, he had left orders with Ibrahim Seraff, the English broker at Jidda, to advance him one thousand crowns, desiring his draft to be sent to Ibrahim, directed to him or his brother at Bombay, and to make it payable to a gentleman of that name who lived in Smithfield.

Mr. Bruce had made a shew, and, as he himself says, with some degree of ostentation, of sending his gold chain to Cairo by the hand of Metical Aga's servant; declaring always that it was the only piece of Abyssinian gold he should carry out of the country, which he was to leave, both in fact and appearance a *pauper*. Mules are the only beasts for carriage commonly used in Abyssinia, though bulls and cows, of a particular kind, are bought for that purpose by carriers, merchants and such like, in that country, especially near the mines or quarries of salt; they are very slow, however, and capable of no great

burden, though very easily maintained. Mr. Bruce had abundance of mules of his own for carrying his instruments and baggage; and the king and Iteghé furnished him with others for his own riding. He had, besides, two favourite horses, which he intended to attempt to carry home, foolishly enough; for though he thought in his own mind, that he was sufficiently informed of, and prepared for all sorts of hardships, he had not foreseen the hundredth part of the difficulties and dangers that were then awaiting him.

Mr. Bruce's whole attention was now taken up in preparations for his return through the kingdom of Sennaar and the Desert. Mr. Bruce does not wish to take up the reader's time with a long narrative of leave-taking, or what passed between him and those illustrious personages, with whom he had lived so long in the most perfect and cordial friendship. Men of little and envious minds, would, perhaps, think he was composing a penegyric upon himself, from which, therefore, he says, he most willingly refrains.

Our traveller then mentions what passed at the last interview he had with the Iteghé. Here he met with one of the chief priests of Gondar, named Tensa Christos, with whom he had this conference. "I beg of you," said he, "Yagoube, as a favour, to tell me, now you are immediately going away from this country, and you can answer me without fear, are you really a Frank, or are you not?"—"Sir," said Mr. Bruce, I do not know what you mean by fear; I came here recommended, and was well received by the king and Ras Michael: I neither taught nor preached; no man ever heard me say a word about my particular mode of worship; and as often as my duty has called me, I have never failed to attend divine service as it is established in this country. What is the ground of fear that I should have, while under the king's protection, and customs of Abyssinia?" "True, replied Tensa Christos, I do not say you should be alarmed; whatever your faith is I would

defend you myself; the Iteghé knows I always spoke well of you; but will you gratify an old man's curiosity, in telling me whether or not you really are a Frank, Catholic, or Jesuit?"

"I have too great a regard," replied Mr. Bruce, "to the request of a man, so truly good and virtuous as you, not to have answered you the question at whatever time you could have asked me; and I do now declare to you, by the word of a christian, that my countrymen and I are very distant in matters of religion from these you call catholics, jesuits, or franks. Every man in our country is allowed to serve God in his own way; and as long as their teachers confine themselves to what the sacred books have told them, they can teach no ill, and therefore deserve no punishment. No religion, indeed, teaches a man evil, but, when forgetting this, they preach against government, curse the king, absolve his subjects from allegiance, or incite them to rebellion, as being lawful; the sword of the civil power cuts them off, without any blame falling upon their religion, because these things were done in contradiction to what their priests, from the scripture, should have taught them were truly the tenets of that very religion." The Iteghé now interposed, and the subject was dropped.

Mr. Bruce then got up, and, passing to the other side of the room, he stood by Tensa Christos, saying to him, "And now, holy father, I have one last favour to ask you, which is your forgiveness, if I have at any time offended you? your blessing, now that I am immediately to depart, if I have not; and your prayers while on my long and dangerous journey, through countries of infidels and pagans." A hum of applause sounded all throughout the room. The Iteghe said something, but what, Mr. Bruce did not hear. Tensa Christos was surprised apparently at Mr. Bruce's humility, which he had not expected, and cried out with tears in his eyes," Is it possible, Yagoube, that you believe my prayers can

do you any good"—" I should not be a Christian, as I profess to be, father," replied Mr. Bruce," if I had any doubt of the effect of good men's prayers." So saying, he stooped, to kiss his hand, when he laid a small iron cross upon his head; and, to our traveller's great surprise, instead of a benediction, he repeated the Lord's prayer. Mr. Bruce was afraid he would have kept him stooping till he should add the ten commandments likewise, when he concluded, "Gzier y' Baracuc," May God bless you, after which, Mr. Bruce made his obeisance to the Iteghé, and immediately withdrew.

Twenty greasy monks, however, had placed themselves in his way as he went out, that they might have the credit of giving him the blessing likewise after Tensa Christos. As he had very little faith in the prayers of these drones, so he had some reluctance to kiss their greasy hands and sleeves; however, in running this disagreeable gauntlet, he gave them his blessing in English,—"Lord send you all a halter, as he did to Abba Salama," meaning the Acab Saat. But they, thinking he was recommending them to the patriarch Abba Salama, pronounced, at random, with great seeming devotion, their Amen,–So be it.

On the 26th of December, 1771, Mr. Bruce left Gondar. The king had delayed his setting out, by several orders sent him in the evening each day; and he plainly saw there was some meaning in this, and that he was wishing to throw difficulties in the way, till some accident, or sudden emergency, never wanting in that country, should make it absolutely impossible for him to leave Abyssinia. When therefore, the last message came to Koscam on the 25th, at night, Mr. Bruce returned his respectful duty to his majesty, put him in mind of his promise and entreated him to leave him to his fortune; that his servants were already gone, and he was resolved to set out next morning.

The next morning early, Mr. Bruce was surprised

at the arrival of a young nobleman, lately made one of his bed-chamber, with fifty light horse. As he was satisfied, that leaving Abyssinia, without parade, as privately as possible, was the only way to pass through Sennaar; he therefore insisted upon none of his friends accompanying him, and he begged to decline this escort. It was, however, one o'clock before Mr. Bruce set out, by the west side of Debra Tzai, having the mountain on their right hand. From the top of that ascent, they saw the plain and flat country below, black, and, in its appearance, one thick wood, which some authors have called lately, the Shumeta, or Nubian Forest.

All the disasters which Mr. Bruce had to dread in the course of the journey, which he had thus begun, now presented themselves to his mind, and made, for a moment, a strong impression upon his spirits. But it was too late to draw back, they dye was cast, for life or for death; home was before him, however distant; and if, through the protection of Providence, he should be fortunate enough to arrive there, he promised himself the applause of his country, and of all unprejudiced men of sense and learning in Europe; for having, by his own private efforts alone, compleated a discovery, which had, from early ages, defied the address, industry, and courage of all the world.

Having rather hardened, than comforted his heart by these reflections, he now advanced down the steep side of the mountain, through very strong and rugged ground, torn up by the torrents that fall on every side from above. This is called the Descent of Moura; and though both they and their beasts were in great health and spirits, they could not, with their utmost endeavours, advance much more than one mile an hour. Two Greeks, one of whom only was his servant, and a third, nearly blind, flying from poverty and want; an old janizary, who had come to Abyssinia with the Abuna, and Copht

who left them at Sennaar; these, and some common men who took charge of the beasts, and were to go no farther than Tcherkin, were his only companions in this long and wearisome journey.

On the 28th, they entered a thick wood, winding round a hill, in a south-east direction, to get into the plain below, where they were surrounded by a great multitude of men, armed with lances, shields, slings, and large clubs or sticks who rained a shower of stones towards them; but they were at such a distance, that all of them fell greatly short of them. Mr. Bruce, therefore, ordered two shots to be fired over their heads; not with any intention to hurt them, but to let them hear, by the balls whistling among the leaves of the trees, that their guns carried farther than any of their slings; and that, distant as they then were, they were not in safety, if they had a disposition to do harm. They seemed to understand their meaning, by gliding through among the bushes, and appearing at the top of a hill farther off, where they continued hooping, and crying, and making signs.

While resting on the banks of the river Mogetch, they had been overtaken by two men and two women, who were driving two loaded asses, and were going to Tcherkin; they had desired leave to keep company with our travellers, for fear of danger on the road. One of these women who understood the language of Tigré, was sent with a message to the armed strangers to inform them, that if they shewed the smallest appearance of farther insolence, either by approaching the tent, or slinging stones that night, the next morning, when the horse he expected were come up, he would burn their town, and put every man of them to the sword. A very submissive answer was sent back, with a heap of lies in excuse of what they called their mistake. Two of his Abyssinian servants coming up soon after, went boldly, one to each village, to bring two goats, some jars of bouza, and to pre-

pare fifty loaves of bread for next morning. The goats were dispatched instantly, so was the bouza; but when the morning came, the people had all fled from their houses, without preparing any bread. These villages were called Gimbaar.

On the 29th, they left the inhospitable villages of Gimbaar, not without entertaining some apprehensions of meeting the inhabitants again, in the course of the day. However they met with no opposition, but proceeded on to Waalia; and at half past four in the afternoon encamped in the market-place.

Waalia is a collection of villages, each placed upon the top of a hill, and enclosing, as in a circle, an extensive flat piece of ground about three miles over, on which a very well frequented market is kept. The name is given it from a species of small pigeons, with yellow breasts and variegated backs, the fattest and best of all the pigeon kind.

On the 30th, they set out from Waalia, and proceeded along the Mai Lumi, or the river of Lemons A prodigious quantity of fruit loaded the branches of these trees; and these were in all stages of ripeness. Multitudes of blossoms covered the opposite part of the tree, and sent forth the most delicious odour possible. They provided themselves amply with this fruit. The natives make no use of it, but our travellers found it a great refreshment to them, both mixed with their water, and as sauce to their meat, of which they had now no great variety, since their onions had failed them, and a supply of them was no longer to be procured.

They soon after reached the pass of Dav-Dohha, a very narrow defile, full of strata of rocks, like steps of stairs, but so high, that without leaping or being pulled up, no horse or mule can ascend. Besides, the descent, though short, is very steep, and almost choked up by huge stones, which the torrents, after washing the earth from about them, had rolled down from the mountain above. Both sides of the defile

are covered thick with wood and bushes, especially that detestable thorn the kantuffa, so justly reprobated in Abyssinia. Having extricated themselves successfully from this pass, their spirits were so elated, that they began to think their journey now at an end, not reflecting how many passes, full of real danger, were still before them.

On the morning of the second of January, 1772, Mr. Bruce having dressed himself according to the custom of the country, came out of the tent to mount his mule for Tcherkin. He now saw Confu's servant, whose name was Welleta Yasous, pulling the Guinea-fowls and pigeons out of the pannier where his servants had put them, and scattering them upon the ground, saying to those who interrupted him, "throw away this carrion; you shall have a better breakfast and dinner to-day;" and turning to Mr. Bruce, more than ordinarily pleased at seeing him dressed, and that he continued to use the Abyssinian habit, he jumped upon his mule, and appeared in great spirits.

They passed through the midst of several small villages; and at last Mr. Bruce pitched his tent in the market-place at Tcherkin, which seemed a beautiful lawn laid out for pleasure, shaded with fine old trees of an enormous height and size, and watered by a small but very limpid brook, running over beds of pebbles as white as snow.

The impatient Welleta Yasous hurried our traveller through a very narrow and crooked path up the side of the mountain, at every turn of which was placed a great rock or stone, the station for muskets to enfilade the different stages of the road below, where it was straight for any distance. They at last reached the outer court of his master's palace, where Mr. Bruce saw a great many of his old acquaintance, whom he had known at Gondar, and who all welcomed him with the greatest demonstrations of joy, as if he had come from a long journey.

Mr. Bruce was then taken to an inner apartment, where, to his great surprise, instead of Ayto Confu, he saw his mother, Ozoro Esther, sitting on a couch, and at her feet the secretary's daughter, the beautiful Tecla Mariam; and, soon after, the secretary himself, and several others belonging to the court. After having made a profound obeisance, "Ozoro Esther, said Mr. Bruce, I cannot speak for surprise. What is the meaning of your having left Gondar so suddenly to come into this wilderness?" There is nothing so strange in this, replied Ozoro Esther, the troops of Begemder have taken away my husband, Ras Michael, God know where; and, therefore, being now a single woman, I am resolved to go to Jerusalem to pray for my husband, and to die there, and be buried in the Holy Sepulchre. You would not stay with us, so we are going with you. Is there any thing surprising in all this?"

"But tell me, truly, said Tecla Mariam, you that know every thing, while peeping and poring through these long glasses, did not you learn by the stars that we were to meet you here?"—"Madam, answered Mr. Bruce, if there was one star in the firmament that had announced to me such agreeable news, I should have relapsed into the old idolatry of this country, and worshipped that star for the rest of my life." Breakfast now came in; the conversation took a very lively turn, and from the secretary our traveller learned that the matter stood thus: "The king, restoring the villages to the Iteghé, according to the stipulation of his last treaty with Powussen, thought that he might so far infringe upon it, from gratitude to Ras Michael, as to give part of the number to Ozoro Esther, the Iteghé's daughter; and Ayto Confu going to Tcherkin to hunt, he took his mother along with him, to put her in possession: for the Iteghé's people were not lambs, nor did they pay much regard to the orders of the king, nor to that of the Iteghé their mistress."

They now wanted only the presence of Ayto Confu to make their happiness complete; he came about four, and with him Ayto Engedam, and a great company. There was nothing but rejoicing on all sides. Seven ladies, relations and companions of Ozoro Esther, came with Ayto Confu; and Mr. Bruce confesses this to have been one of the happiest moments of his life. He quite forgot the disastrous journey he had before him, and all the dangers that awaited him.

Ayto Confu's house at Tcherkin is built on the edge of a precipice, which takes its name from the mountain Amba Tcherkin. It is wholly constructed of cane, the outer wall being composed of fascines of canes, so neatly joined together as not to be penetrated by rain or wind. The entry is from the south side of it, very crooked and difficult, half way up the rock. On the east, is a very plentiful spring, which furnishes the house with excellent water. The inside of the state rooms were hung with long stripes of carpeting, and the floors covered with the same.

About Tcherkin is great plenty of game of every sort, elephants, rhinoceroses, and a great number of buffaloes, which differ nothing in form from the buffaloes of Europe or of Egypt, but very much in temper and disposition. They are fierce, and fearless of danger; and, contrary to the practice of any other creature not carnivorous, they attack the traveller and the hunter equally, and it requires address to escape from them. They seem, however, to be, of all others, the creature the most given to ease and indulgence. They lie under the most shady trees, near large pools of water, of which they make constant use, and sleep soundly all the day long. The flesh of the female is very good when fat, but that of the male, hard, lean, and disagreeable. Their horns are used in various manners by the turners, in which craft the Abyssinians are very expert.

Though they were all happy to their wish in this

enchanting mountain, the active spirit of Ayto Confu could not rest; he was come to hunt the elephant, and hunt him he would. All those that understood any thing of this exercise had assembled, from a great distance, to meet Ayto Confu at Tcherkin. Mr. Bruce, though he says he should have been very well contented to have remained where he was, yet the preparations for sport of so noble a kind roused his spirits, and made him desirous to join in it. On the other hand, the ladies all declared, that they thought, by leaving them, they were devoting them to death or slavery, as they did not doubt, if the Shangalla missed the hunting party, they would come forward to the mountain and slay them all. But a sufficient garrison was left, and they were well assured that the Shangalla, being informed they were out, and armed, and knowing their numbers, would take care to keep close in their thickets far out of their way.

On the 6th, an hour before day, after a hearty breakfast, they mounted on horseback, to the number of about thirty belong to Ayto Confu. But there was another body, both of horse and foot, which made hunting the elephant their particular business. These men dwell constantly in the woods, and know very little of the use of bread, living entirely upon the flesh of the beasts they kill, chiefly that of the elephant or rhinoceros. They are exceedingly thin, light, and agile, both on horseback and on foot; are very swarthy, though few of them black: none of them woolly-headed, and all of them have European features. They are called Agageer, a name of their profession, not of their nation, which comes from the word *agar*, and signifies to hough or hamstring with a sharp weapon. More properly it means, indeed, the cutting the tendon of the heel, and is a characteristic of the manner in which they kill the elephant.

Having come up with several elephants, the agageer nearest Mr. Bruce presently lamed his elephant, and

left him standing. Ayto Engedan, Ayto Confu, Guebra Mariam, and several others, fixed their spears in another, before the agageer had cut his tendons. Mr. Bruce's agageer, however, having wounded the first elephant, failed in the pursuit of the second; and being close upon him at entering the wood, he received a violent blow from a branch of a tree which the elephant had bent by his weight, and after passing, allowed it to replace itself, when it knocked down both the riders, and very much hurt the horse. This, indeed, is the great danger in elephant hunting; for some of the trees that are dry and short, break by the violent pressure of so immense a body moving so rapidly, and fall upon the pursuers, or across the roads. Dexterous, too, as the riders are, the elephant sometimes reaches them with his trunk, with which he dashes the horse against the ground, and then sets his feet upon him, till he tears him limb from limb with his proboscis: a great many hunters die this way. Besides this, the soil, at this time of the year, is split into deep chasms or cavities, by the heat of the sun, so that nothing can be more dangerous than the riding.

As soon as the elephant is slain, they cut the whole flesh off his bones into thongs, like the reins of a bridle, and hang these like festoons, upon the branches of trees, till they become perfectly dry, without salt, and they then lay them by for their provision in the season of the rains.

There now remained but two elephants of those that had been discovered, which were a she one with a calf. The agageer would willingly have let these alone, as the teeth of the female are very small, and the young one is of no sort of value, even for food, its flesh shrinking much upon drying. But the hunters would not be limited in their sport. The people having observed the place of her retreat, thither they eagerly followed. She was very soon found, and as soon lamed by the agageers; but when they came to

wound her with the darts, as every one did in their turn, to their very great surprise, the young one which had been suffered to escape unheeded and unpursued, came out from the thicket apparently in great anger, running upon the horses and men with all the violence it was master of. Mr. Bruce was amazed and afflicted, at seeing the great affection of the little animal defending its wounded mother, heedless of its own life or safety. He therefore cried to them to spare the mother, though it was then too late; and the calf had made several rude attacks upon Mr. Bruce, which he avoided without difficulty. At last, making one of its attacks upon Ayto Engedan, it hurt him a little on the leg; upon which he thrust it through with his lance, and it then fell dead before its wounded mother, whom it had so affectionately defended.

"Here, Mr. Bruce says, is an example of a beast, a young one too, possessing abstracted sentiments to a very high degree. By its flight on the first appearance of the hunters, it is plain it apprehended danger to itself; it also reflected upon that of its mother, which was the cause of its return to her assistance. This affection or duty, or let us call it any thing we please, except instinct, was stronger than the fear of danger; and it must have conquered that fear by reflection before it returned, when it resolved to make its best and last efforts, for it never attempted to fly afterwards."

Mr. Bruce and his party then sought about for the buffaloes and rhinoceroses; but, though there was plenty of both in the neighbourhood, they could not find them; their noise and shooting in the morning having probably scared them away. One rhinoceros was only seen by a servant. They returned in the evening to a great fire, and lay all night under the shade of trees.

The next morning they were on horseback by the dawn of day, in search of the rhinoceroses, many of which they had heard make a very deep groan and

cry as the morning approached; several of the agageers then joined them; and after they had searched about an hour in the very thickest part of the wood, one of them rushed out with the greatest violence, crossing the plain. But though he ran, or rather trotted, with surprising speed, considering his bulk, he was in a very little time transfixed with thirty or forty javelins; which so confounded him, that he ran into a deep hole, ditch, or ravine, a *cul de sac*, without outlet, breaking above a dozen of the javelins as he entered. Here they thought he was caught in a trap, for he had scarce room to turn; when a servant who had a gun, standing directly over him, fired at his head, and the animal fell immediately, to all appearance dead. All those on foot now jumped in with their knives, to cut him up, and they had scarce begun, when the animal recovered so far as to rise upon his knees; happy then was the man that escaped first; and had not one of the agageers, who was himself engaged in the ravine, cut the sinew of the hind leg as he was retreating, there would have been a very sorrowful account of the foot hunters that day.

After having dispatched him, Mr. Bruce was curious to see what wound the shot had given, which had operated so violently upon so huge an animal; and he doubted not it was in the brain. But it had struck him no where but upon the point of the foremost horn, of which it had carried off above an inch; and this occasioned a concussion that had stunned him for a minute, till the bleeding had recovered him. Mr. Bruce preserved the horn from curiosity, and has it now by him.

They had not gone far before a wild boar arose between Mr. Bruce and Ayto Engedan, which our traveller immediately killed with his javelin. This was the sport Mr. Bruce had been many years used to in Barbary, and was infinitely more dexterous at it than any of the present company; this put him more upon

a par with his companions, who had not failed to laugh at him, upon his horse's refusal to carry him near either to the elephant or rhinoceros.

A boar, roused on their right, had wounded a horse and a footman of Ayto Confu, and then escaped. Two buffaloes were found by those on the right, one of which wounded a horse likewise. Ayto Confu, Engedan, Fuebra Mariam, and Mr. Bruce, killed the other, with equal share of merit, without being in any sort of danger. All this was in little more than an hour, when their sport seemed to be at the best; their horses were considerably blown, not tired; and though they were beating homewards, still they were looking very keenly for more game. Ammonios, a man of approved courage, was on the left among the bushes, and some large beautiful, tall, spreading trees, close on the banks of the river Bedowi, which stands there in pools. Whether the buffalo found Ammonios, or Ammonios the buffalo, is what they could never get him to explain to them; but he had wounded the beast slightly on the buttock, which in return had gored his horse, and thrown both him and it to the ground. Luckily however his cloak had fallen off, which the buffalo tore in pieces, and employed himself for a minute with that and with the horse, but then left them, and followed the man as soon as he saw him rise and run. Ammonios got behind one large tree, and from that to another still larger. The buffalo turned very awkwardly, but kept close in pursuit; and there was no doubt he would have worn out their companion, who was not used to such quick motion. Ayto Engedan, who was near him, and might have assisted him, was laughing, ready to die, at the droll figure a man of Ammonios's grave carriage made, running and skipping about naked, with a swiftness he had never practised all his life before; and Engedan continued calling to Confu to partake of the diversion.

The moment Mr. Bruce heard his repeated cries, he

galloped out of the bushes to the place where he was, and could not help laughing at his ridiculous figure, very attentive to the beast's motions, which seemed to dodge with great address, and kept to his adversary with the utmost obstinacy. As soon as Engedan saw Mr. Bruce, he cried, "Yagoube! for the love of Christ! for the love of the blessed Virgin! don't interfere till Confu comes up." Confu immediately arrived, and laughed more than Engedan, but did not offer to interfere; on the contrary, he clapped his hands, and cried, "well done Ammonios," swearing he never saw so equal a match in his life. The unfortunate Ammonios had been driven from tree to tree, till he had got behind one within a few yards of the water; but the brushwood upon the banks, and his attention to the buffalo, hindered him from seeing how far it was below him. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to see him holding the tree with both his hands, peeping first one way and then another, to see by which the beast would turn. And well he might be on his guard; for the animal was absolutely mad, tossing up the ground with his feet both before and behind. "Sir, said Mr. Bruce to Ayto Confu, this will be but an ugly joke to night, if we bring home that man's corpse, killed in the very midst of us, while we were looking on." Saying this, he parted at a canter behind the trees, crying to Ammonios to throw himself into the water, when he should strike the beast; and seeing the buffalo's head turned from Mr. Bruce, at full speed, he ran the spear into the lower part of his belly, through his whole intestines, till it came out above a foot on the other side, and there he left it, with a view to hinder the buffalo from turning. This impeded the animal's motions, till Ammonios, quitting the tree, dashed through the bushes with some difficulty, and threw himself into the river. But here a danger occurred that Mr. Bruce had not foreseen. The pool was very deep, and Ammonios could not swim; so that though he

escaped from the buffalo, he would infallibly have been drowned, had he not caught hold of some strong roots of a tree shooting out of the bank; and there he lay in perfect safety from the enemy, till the servants went round, and brought him out of the pool on the farther side.

In the mean time, the buffalo, mortally wounded, seeing his enemy had escaped, kept his eyes intent upon the hunters, who were about forty yards from him, walking backwards towards the company, with intent to turn suddenly upon the nearest horse; when Ayto Confu ordered two men with guns to shoot him through the head, and he instantly fell. The two first killed were females; this last was a bull, and one of the largest, confessedly, that had ever been seen. Though not fat, Mr. Bruce supposes he weighed nearer fifty than forty stone. His horns from the root, following the line of their curve, were about fifty-two inches, and nearly nine, where thickest in the circumference. They were flat, not round. Ayto Confu ordered the head to be cut off, and cleared of its flesh, so that the horns and skeleton of the head only remained; this he hung up in his great hall, among the probosces of elephants, and horns of rhinoceroses, with this inscription in his own language, "Yagoube the Kipt killed this upon the Bedowi."

Tcherkin has a market on Saturdays, in which raw cotton, cattle, honey, and coarse cotton cloths are sold. The Shangalla formerly molested Tcherkin greatly; but for thirty years past they had done little damage. The small-pox raged so violently, for a number of years, among them, that it greatly diminished their numbers, and consequently their power of troubling their neighbours.

On Wednesday, the 8th of January, Mr. Bruce, having rectified his quadrant with great attention, found the latitude of Tcherkin to be 13 deg. 7 min. 35 sec. north. But though from that time he was ready to depart, he could not possibly get disengaged

from his friends, but by a composition, which was, that he should stay till the 15th, the day before Ozoro Esther and her company were to set out on their return to Gondar; and that they, on their part, should suffer Mr. Bruce to depart on that day, without farther persuasion, or throwing any obstacle whatever in his way.

On the morning of the 15th of January, they left Tcherkin, and entered immediately into thick woods, but proceeded very slowly, the road being bad and unknown.

On the 17th, in the morning, they came to Sancaho, an old frontier territory of Abyssinia. The town may consist of about three hundred huts or houses, neatly built of canes, and curiously thatched with leaves of the same. It rises in the midst of a plain; a considerable district all around belongs to it, of wilds and woods, if such as these, abandoned entirely to wild beasts, can be said to belong to any man. The east end slopes with rather a steep descent into the plain; and through that is a narrow winding road, seemingly the work of art, being obstructed at turns by huge stones, and at different stages, for the purpose of defence by guns or arrows; all the other sides of the rock are perpendicular precipices.

On the 20th, our travellers proceeded but a mile and a half; their beasts and themselves being equally fatigued, and their clothes torn all to rags, when they arrived at Guanjock, which is a very delightful spot, by the river side; small woods of very high trees, interspersed with very beautiful lawns; several fields also cultivated with cotton; variety of game, especially Guinea-fowls, in great abundance, and, upon every tree, parroquets, of all the different kinds and colours, compose the beauties of Guanjock.

They continued the journey from thence, and at a quarter after one came to Mariam Ohha, and at half past three arrived at Hor-Cacamoot, or the Valley of the Shadow of Death. A bad omen for weak and

wandering travellers as they were, surrounded by a multitude of dangers, and so far from home that there seemed to be but one that could bring them thither. They trusted in Him, and He did deliver them.

Hor-Cacamoot is situated in a plain in the midst of a wood, so much only of which has been cleared away as to make room for the miserable huts of which it consists, and for the small spots of ground on which they sow Mashilla, or maize, to furnish them with bread. Their other food consists entirely of the flesh of the elephant and rhinoceros, and chiefly of the former; for the trouble of hunting the elephant is not greater than chasing the rhinoceros, and the difference of gain is much superior. The elephant has a greater quantity of better flesh, while his large teeth are very valuable, and afford a ready price every where.

On the 17th of March, they set out from Hor-Canamoot, on their journey to Teawa, the capital of the province of Atbara.

On the 18th, at half after six in the morning, they continued their journey through thick, and almost impenetrable woods, full of thorns; and in two hours came to the bed of a torrent, though in appearance dry; upon digging with their hands in the loose sand, they found great plenty of fresh water, exceedingly well tasted, being sheltered by projecting rocks from the action of the sun. This is called Surf el Shekh. Here they filled their girbas; for there is very little good water to be found between this and Teawa. A girba is an ox' skin squared, and the edges sewed together very artificially by a double seam which does not let out water, much resembling that upon the best English cricket balls. An opening is left in the top of the girba, in the same manner as the bung-hole of a cask. Around this the skin is gathered to the size of a large handful, which, when the girba is full of water, is tied round with whip-cord. These girbas generally contain about sixty gallons each, and two of

them are the load of a camel. They are then all besmeared on the outside with grease, as well to hinder the water from oozing through, as to prevent its being evaporated by the action of the sun, which, in fact, happened to them twice, so as to put them in imminent danger of perishing with thirst.

Yasine had provided a camel and two girbas, as well as every other provision necessary for them, till they should arrive at Teawa. Surf el Shekh is the boundary of Ras el Feel. Here Mr. Bruce took an affectionate leave of his friend Yasine, who, with all his attendants, shewed, at parting, that love and attachment they had constantly preserved to Mr. Bruce since their first acquaintance.

On the 20th, our travellers arrived at Imserrha, and from thence were two hours in going to Rashid; for they were flying for their lives; the simoon, or hot-wind having struck them not long after they had set out from Imserrha; and their little company, all but Mr. Bruce, fell sick with the quantity of poisonous vapour that they had inhaled. Our traveller supposes, that from Rashid to Imserrha it is about five miles; and though it is one of the most dangerous halting places between Ras el Feel and Sennaar, yet they were so enervated, their stomachs so weak, and their headachs so violent, that they could not pitch their tent, but each wrapping himself in his cloak, resigned himself immediately to sleep, under the cool shade of the large trees.

In this helpless state to which they were reduced, Mr. Bruce alone continued not weakened by the simoon, nor overcome by sleep. A Ganjar Arab, who drove an ass laden with salt, took this opportunity of stealing one of the mules, together with a lance and shield belonging to one of Mr. Bruce's servants. The country was so woody, and he had so much the advantage of them in point of time, and they were in so weak and discouraged a state that it was thought in vain to pursue him one step.

Having refreshed themselves with a little sleep, the next thing was to fill their girbas, or skins, with water. But before they attempted this, Mr. Bruce thought to try an experiment of mixing about twenty drops of spirit of nitre in a horn of water, about the size of an ordinary tumbler. This he found greatly refreshed him, though his headach still continued. It had a much better effect upon his servants, to whom he gave it; for they all seemed immediately recovered, and their spirits much more so, from the reflection that they had with them a remedy they could trust to, if they should again be so unfortunate as to meet this poisonous wind.

On the 23d, which was the seventh day since they had left Ras el Feel, they arrived at Teawa, the principal village and residence of the Shekh of Atbara, between three and four miles from the ruins of Garigana.

The strength of Teawa was about twenty-five horse, of which about ten were armed with coats of mail. They had about a dozen of firelocks, very contemptible from the order in which they were kept, and still more so from the hands that bore them. The rest of the inhabitants might amount to twelve hundred men, naked, miserable, and despicable Arabs, like the rest of those that live in villages, who are much inferior in courage to the Arabs that dwell in tents: weak as its state was, it was the seat of government, and as such, a certain degree of reverence attended it. Such was the state of Teawa.

We may judge of the dangerous situation of Mr. Bruce at Teawa from what passed between him and Fidele, the shekh, who was a man of a most infamous character. Mr. Bruce being sent for by the shekh, he found him sitting in a spacious room, in an alcove, on a large broad sofa like a bed, with India curtains gathered on each side into festoons. He called to a black boy who attended him, in a very surly tone, to bring him a pipe; and, in much the

same voice, said to Mr. Bruce, "What! alone?" Our traveller replied, "Yes; what are your commands mith me? Mr. Bruce saw he either was, or affected to be drunk; and which ever was the case, he knew it would lead to mischief; he therefore repented heartily of having come into the house alone.

After he had taken two whiffs of his pipe, and the slave had left the room, "Are you prepared? said he: Have you brought the needful along with you?" Mr. Bruce wished to have occasion to join Soliman, his servant, and answered, "My servants are at the outer door, and have the vomit you wanted." "I want money, and not poison, said he in a rage. Where are your piastres?" "I am a bad person, replied Mr. Bruce, to furnish you with either. I have neither money nor poison; but I advise you to drink a little warm water to clear your stomach, cool your head, and then lie down and compose yourself; I will see you to morrow morning." Mr. Bruce was going out. "Haikim, said he, infidel, or devil, or whatever is your name, hearken to what I say. Consider where you are; this is the room where Mek Baady, a king, was slain by the hand of my father: look at his blood, where it has stained the floor, which never could be washed out. I am informed you have twenty thousand piastres in gold with you; either give me two thousand before you go out of this chamber, or you shall die; I will put you to death with mine own hand." Upon this he took up his sword, that was lying at the head of his sofa, and, drawing it with a bravado, threw the scabbard into the middle of the room; and, tucking the sleeve of his shirt above his elbow like a butcher, said, I wait your answer."

Mr. Bruce now stept one pace backwards, and held the little blunderbuss in his hand, without taking it off the belt. He said, in a firm tone of voice, "This is my answer: I am not a man, as I have told you before, to die like a beast by the hand of a drunkard. On your life, I charge you, stir not

from your sofa." He had no need to give this injunction; he heard the noise which the closing the joint in the stock of the blunderbuss made, and thought he had cocked it, and was instantly to fire. He let his sword drop, and threw himself on his back on the sofa, crying, "For God's sake, Haikaim, I was but jesting." At the same time, with all his might, he cried, Brahim! Mahomet! El coom! El coom!"—"If one of your servants approach me, said Mr. Bruce, that instant I will blow you to pieces: not one of them shall enter this room till they bring in my servants with them; I have a number of them armed at your gate, who will break in the instant they hear me fire."

The women had come to the door, and Mr. Bruce's servants were admitted, each having a blunderbuss in his hand, and pistols at his girdle. They were now greatly an overmatch for shekh, who sat far back on the sofa, and pretended that all he had done was in joke, in which his servants joined, and a very confused, desultory discourse followed, till the Turk, Sherriffe Ismael, happened to observe the shekh's scabbard of his sword thrown upon the floor, on which he fell into a violent fit of laughter.

As no good could be expected from this expostulation, Mr. Bruce stopt it, and took his leave, desiring the shekh to go to bed and compose himself, and not try any more of these experiments, which would certainly end in his shame, if not in his punishment. He made no answer, only wished them good night.

Mr. Bruce and his servants went to the door, through the several apartments, very much upon their guard, for there was no person to light them out, and they were afraid of some treachery or ambush in the antichamber and dark passages; but they met nobody; and were even at the outer gate, obliged to open the door themselves. Without the gate there were about twenty people gathered together, but none of them with arms; and, by the half words

and expressions they made use of, they could judge they were not the shekh's friends. They followed them for a little, but dispersed before they arrived at their house.

They had scarce got rid of this real danger, when the apprehension of an imaginary one struck them violently. The water at Teawa is stagnant in pools, and exceedingly bad. Either that, or the bouza, kind of new beer which they sent them with their meat, had given all of them, at the same time, a violent diarrhœa, and Mr. Bruce was tormented with a perpetual thirst. When they found they were all taken ill at the same time, it came into their heads that Shekh Fidele had given them poison in their dinner, and they were very much perplexed what they should do the next day. None of them, therefore, tasted the meat sent them; when at night, their friend, the black slave, came, and to her they frankly told their doubts. The poor creature fell into such violent fits of laughing, which followed so close one upon the other, and lasted so long, that Mr. Bruce feared she would die upon the spot. "It is the water, said she, it does so to all strangers," and then she fell into another great fit of laughter. "Child, answered Mr. Bruce, you know the shekh is not our friend, and there is no easier way to get rid of u than by poison, as we eat every thing that comes from you without fear." "And so you may, said she; the shekh could do no such thing without our knowledge, and we would rather all be burnt alive than be guilty of so vile an action. Besides, said she, this is not like Habesh, where both meat and drink, brought to you, are tasted by the bearer before you use them. There is no such thing as poison in Arbara; the lance and the knife in the field, that is the manner in which they kill one another here."

They then shewed her their dinner uneaten, and she again fell into a violent fit of laughter, and took the meat away that she might warm it, and they heard

her laughing all the way she went by herself. She was not long in returning with provisions in plenty, and told them, that her mistresses never were so diverted in their lives, and she left them still laughing.

During the whole of Mr. Bruce's stay at Teawa, the behaviour of Fidele was all of a piece, and, it is probable, our traveller would have finished his travels in that place, had not some of his powerful friends interested themselves in his security. However, after various impediments, on the 18th, they took leave of the shekh to proceed on their journey.

Their journey, for the first seven hours, was through a barren, bare, and sandy plain, without finding a vestige of any living creature; without water, and without grass; a country that seemed under the immedite curse of Heaven. However, after a most disagreeable journey, on the 19th, at eight in the evening, they arrived at Beyla, in latitude 13 deg. 42 min. 4 sec. They were met by Mahomet, the shekh, at the very entrance of the town. He said, he looked upon them as risen from the dead; that they must be good people, and particularly under the care of Providence, to have escaped the many snares the Shekh ot Arbara had laid for them. Mahomet, the shekh, had provided every sort of refreshment possible for them, and, thinking they could not live without it, he had ordered sugar for them from Sennaar. Honey, for the most part, hitherto had been its substitute. They had a good comfortable supper; as fine wheat bread as ever Mr. Bruce ate in his life, brought from Sennaar, as also rice: in a word, every thing that their kind landlord could contribute to their plentiful and hospitable entertainment.

Our traveller's whole company was full of joy, to which the shekh greatly encouraged them; and if there was any alloy to the happiness, it was seeing that Mr. Bruce did not partake of it. Symptoms of an anguish disorder had been hanging about him for

several days, ever since the diarrhœa had left him. He found the greatest repugnance, or nausea, at the smell of warm meat; and, having a violent headach, he insisted upan going to bed supperless, after having drank a quantity of warm water by way of emetic. Being exceedingly tired, he soon fell sound asleep, having first taken some drops of a strong spirituous tincture of the bark, which he had prepared at Gondar; resolving, if he found any remission, as he then did, to take several good doses of the bark in powder on the morrow, beginning at day-break, which he accordingly did with its usual success.

On the 20th of April, a little after the dawn of day, the shekh, in great anxiety, came to the place where Mr. Bruce was lying, upon a tanned buffalo's hide, on the ground. His sorrow was soon turned into joy, when he found him quite recovered from his illness. He had taken the bark, and expressed a desire of eating a hearty breakfast of rice, which was immediately prepared for him.

The shekh of Beyla was an implicit believer in medicine. Seeing him take some drops of the tincture before coffee, he insisted upon pledging Mr. Bruce, and he believes would have willingly emptied the whole bottle. The shekh, having suffered great agony from the stone, had been somewhat relieved by soap-pills, prescribed by our traveller. He put him in a way to prepare these, as also lime water. It was impossible to have done any favour for him equal to this, as his agony had been so great.

It was now the time to give the shekh a present, and Mr. Bruce had prepared one for him, such as he very well deserved; but no intreaty, nor any means he could use, could prevail upon him to accept of the merest trifle. On the contrary, he solemnly swore, that if Mr. Bruce importuned him farther, he would get upon his horse and go into the country. All that he desired, and that too as a favour, was that, when Mr. Bruce had rested at Sennaar, he

might come and consult him farther as to his complaints, for which he promised he should bring a recompence with him.

Though Mr. Bruce was much pleased with his reception here, he determined to press on to Sennaar before affairs there were in a desperate situation, or some scheme of mischief should be contrived by Fidele. They had again a large and plentiful dinner, and a quantity of bouza; venison of several different spices of the antelope or deer kind, and Guniea-fowls, boiled with rice, were the best part of their fare, for the venison smelled and tasted strongly of musk. This was the provision made by the shekh's two sons, boys about fourteen or fifteen years old, who had got each of them a gun with a match-lock, and whose favour he secured to a very high degree, by giving them some good gunpowder, and plenty of small leaden bullets.

In the afternoon, they walked out to see the village, which is a very pleasant one, situated upon the bottom of a hill, covered with wood. In the plain are many large timber trees, planted in rows, and joined with high hedges, as in Europe, forming inclosures for keeping cattle. There is no water at Beyla but what is got from deep wells. Large plantations of Indian corn are every where about the town. The inhabitants are in continual apprehension from the Arabs Daveina at Sim Sim, about forty miles south-east from them; and from another powerful race, called Wed abd el Gin. *i. e.* Son of the slaves of the devil, who live to the south-west of them, between the Dender and the Nile. Beyla is another frontier town of Sennaar, on the side of Sim Sim.

Though Mr. Bruce went early to bed with full determination to set out by day break, yet he found it was impossible to put his design in execution, or get from the hands of their kind landlord. One of their girbas seemed to fail, and needed to be repaired

On the 21st of April, they left Beyla, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and proceeded through a very pleasant flat country, but without water; there had been none in their way nearer than the river Rahad. About eleven at night they alighted in a wood; the place is called Baherie, as near as they could compute, nine miles from Beyla.

On the 22d, at half past five o'clock in the morning, they left Baherie, still continuing westward, and at nine they came to the banks of the Rahad.

The ford is called Tchir Chaira. The river itself was now standing in pools, the water foul, stinking, and covered with a green mantle; the bottom soft and muddy, but there was no choice. The water at Beyla was so bad, that they took only as much as was absolutely necessary till they arrived at running water from the Rahad.

On the 23d, they met several men, on horseback and on foot, coming out from among the bushes, who endeavoured to carry off one of their camels. They indeed were somewhat alarmed, and were going to prepare for resistance. The camel they had taken away had on it the king's and Shekh Adelan's presents, and some other things for their future need. Their clothes too, books, and papers, were upon the same camel. However, as this was only a contrivance to extort a present from Mr. Bruce, the matter was easily got over, and the camel restored.

On the 24th, they came to the river Dender, standing now in pools; but by the vast wideness of its banks, and the great deepness of its bed, it should seem, that in time of rain it will contain nearly as much water as the Nile. The banks are every where thick overgrown with the rack and jujeb tree, especially the latter. The wood, which had continued mostly from Beyla, here failed entirely, and reached no farther towards Sennaar. These two sorts of trees, however, were in very great beauty, and of a prodigious size.

At six o'clock in the evening, they set out from a shady place of repose on the banks of the Dender, through a large plain, with not a tree before them; but they presently found themselves encompassed with a number of villages, nearly of a size, and placed at equal distances in form of a semicircle, the roofs of the houses in shape of cones, as are all those within the rains. The plain was all of a red, soapy earth, and the corn just sown. This whole country is in perpetual cultivation, and though, at this time, it had a bare look, would, no doubt, have a magnificent one when waving with grain. At nine, they halted at a village of Pagan Nuba. These are all soldiers of the Mek of Sennaar, cantoned in these villages, which, at the distance of four or five miles, surround the whole capital. Having settlements and provisions given them, as also arms put into their hands, they never wish to desert, but live a very domestic and sober life.

They pay adoration to the moon; and that their worship is performed with pleasure and satisfaction, is obvious every night that she shines. Coming out from the darkness of their huts, they say a few words upon seeing her brightness, and testify great joy, by motions of their feet and hands, at the first appearance of the new moon. Mr. Bruce never saw them pay any attention to the sun, either rising or setting, advancing to or receding from the meridian. Their priests seem to have great influence over them, but through fear only, and not from affection. They are distinguished by thick copper bracelets about their wrists, as also sometimes one, and sometimes two about their ancles.

On the 25th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, they set out from the villages of the Nuba, intending to arrive at Basboch, where is the ferry over the Nile; but they had scarcely advanced two miles into the plain, when they were inclosed by a violent whirlwind, or what is called, at sea, the water-spout.

The plain was red earth, which had been plentifully moistened by a shower in the night-time. The unfortunate camel that had been taken by the Cohala seemed to be nearly in the centre of its vortex. It was lifted up and thrown down at a considerable distance, and several of its ribs broken. Although, as far as Mr. Bruce could guess, he was not near the centre; it whirled him off his feet, and threw him down upon his face, so as to make his nose gush out with blood. Two of the servants likewise had the same fate. It plaistered them all over with mud, almost as smoothly as could have been done with a trowel. It took away Mr. Bruce's sense and breathing for an instant, and his mouth and nose were full of mud when he recovered. He guesses the sphere of its action to be about two hundred feet. It demolished one half of a small hut, as if it had been cut through with a knife, and dispersed the materials all over the plain, leaving the other half standing.

As soon as they recovered themselves, they took refuge in a village, from fear only, for they saw no vestige of any other whirlwind. It involved a great quantity of rain, which the Nuba of the villages told them was very fortunate, as it portended good luck to them, and a prosperous journey, for they said, that had dust and sand arisen with the whirlwind, in the same proportion it would have done, had not the earth been moistened, they would all infallibly have been suffocated; and they cautioned them, by saying, that tempests were very frequent at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and whenever they should see one of them coming, to fall down upon their faces, keeping their lips close to the ground, and so let it pass: and thus it would neither have power to carry them off their feet, nor suffocate them, which was the ordinary case.

Their kind landlords, the Nuba, gave them a hearty welcome, and helped them to wash their clothes first, and then to dry them. When Mr. Bruce was

stripped naked, they saw the blood running from his nose, and said, they could not have thought that one so white as he was could have been capable of bleeding. They gave them a piece of roasted hog, which they ate, very much to the satisfaction of the Nuba. On the other hand, as their camel was lame, they ordered one of the Mahometan servants to kill it, and take as much of it as would serve themselves for that night; they also provided against wanting themselves the next day. The rest they gave among their new-acquired acquaintance, the Nuba of the village, who did not fail to make a feast upon it for several days after, and, in recompence for their liberality, they provided them with a large jar of bouza. This Mr. Bruce repaid by tobacco, beads, pepper, and stibium, which he saw plainly was infinitely more than they expected. Mr. Bruce seldom, in his life, upon a journey, passed a more comfortable night. He had a very neat, clean hut, entirely to himself, and a Greek servant that sat near him. Some of the Nuba watched for them all night, and took care of their beasts and baggage. They sung and replied to one another alternately, in notes full of pleasant melody, till Mr. Bruce fell fast asleep, involuntarily, and with regret.

The landlord of the hut where Mr. Bruce wa asleep, having prepared for their safety and that of their baggage, thought himself bound in duty to go and give immediate information to the prime minister of the unexpected guests that then occupied his house. He found Adelan at supper, but was immediately admitted, and a variety of questions asked him, which he answered fully. He described their colour, their number, the unusual size and number of their firearms, the poorness of their attire, and, above all, their great cheerfulness, quietness, and affability, their being contented with eating any thing, and in particular mentioned the hog's flesh. One man then present, testifying abhorrence, Adelan to this said of Mr.

Bruce to their landlord, "Why, he is a soldier and a Kafr, like yourself. A soldier and a Kafr, when travelling in a strange country, should eat every thing, and so does every other man that is wise; has he not a servant of mine with him?" He answered, "Yes, and a servant of the king too; but he had left them, and was gone forward to Sennaar." "Go you with them," says he, "and stay wtth them at Rasboch till he had time to send for them to town." He had returned from Aira long before our travellers arose, and told them the conversation, which was great comfort to them all; for they were not much pleased with the king's servant going before, as they had reason to think he was disaffected towards them.

On the 26th, at six o'clock in the morning, they set out from this village of Nuba. All the morning there were terrible storms of thunder and lightning, with some heavy rain. Mr. Bruce thinks he never, in his life, felt so cold a rain, yet it was not disagreeable; for the day was close and hot, and they should have wished every now and then to have had a moderate refrigeration; this, however, was rather too abundant. At nine o'clock they arrived at Basboch, which is a large collection of huts of the Nuba, and has the appearance of a town.

The governor, a venerable old man of about seventy, who was so feeble that he could scarcely walk, received them with great complacency, only saying, when he took hold of Mr. Bruce's hand, "O Christian; what dost thou at such a time in such a country?" Mr. Bruce was surprised at the politeness of his speech, when he called him Nazarini, the civil term for Christian in the east; whereas, Infidel, is the general term among these brutish people; but it seems he had been several times at Cairo. Mr. Bruce had here a very clean and comfortable hut to lodge in, though they were sparingly supplied with provisions all the time they were there; but never were suffered to fast a whole day together.

Basboch is on the eastern bank of the Nile, not a quarter of a mile from the ford below. The river here runs north and south; towards the sides it is shallow, but deep in the middle of the current, and in this part it is much infested with crocodiles. Sennaar is two miles and a half south-south-west of it. They heard the evening drum very distinctly, and not without anxiety, when they reflected to what a brutish people, according to all accounts they were about to trust themselves.

On the 29th, leave was sent them, to enter Sennaar, where having arrived, they were conducted by Adelan's servant to a very spacious good house belonging to the shekh himself, a long quarter of a mile from the king's palace. He left a message for them to repose themselves, and in a day or two to wait upon the king, and that he should send to tell them when they were to come to him. This they resolved to have complied with most exactly, but the very next morning, the 30th of April, there came a servant from the palace to summon them to wait upon the king, which they immediately obeyed. The palace covers a prodigious deal of ground. It is all of one story, built of clay, and the floors of earth. The chambers through which they passed were all unfurnished, and seemed as if a great many of them had formerly been destined as barracks for soldiers, of whom Mr. Bruce did not see above fifty on guard. The king was in a small room not twenty feet square, to which they ascended by two small flights of narrow steps. The floor of the room was covered with broad square tiles; over it was laid a Persian carpet, and the walls hung with tapestry of the same country; the whole very well kept, and in good order.

The king was sitting upon a mattress, laid on the ground, which was likewise covered with a Persian carpet, and round him was a number of cushions of Venetian cloth of gold. His dress did not correspond with this magnificence, for it was nothing but a large,

lose shirt, of Surat blue cotton cloth, which seemed not to differ from the same worn by his servants, except that, all round the edges of it, the seams were double-stitched with white silk, and likewise round the neck.

His head was uncovered; he wore his own short black hair, and was as white in colour as an Arab. He seemed to be a man about thirty-four; he had a very plebeian countenance, on which was stamped no decided character. At our traveller's coming forward and kissing his hand, he looked at them for a minute, as if undetermined what to say. He then asked for an Abyssinian interpreter, as there are many of those about the palace. Our traveller said to him in Arabic, "I apprehend I understand as much of that language as will enable me to answer any question you have to put to me." Upon which he turned to the people that were with him, "Downright Arabic, indeed! You did not learn that language in Habesh?" said he to Mr. Bruce, who answered, No; I have been in Egypt, Turkey, and Arabia, where I learned it; but I have likewise often spoken it in Abyssinia, where Greek, Turkish, and several other languages are used." He said, "Impossible! he did not think they knew any language, except their own, in Abyssinia."

There were sitting opposite to him, four men dressed in white cotton shirts, with a white shawl covering their heads, and part of their face, by which it was known they were religious men, or men of learning, or of the law. One of these answered the king's doubt of the Abyssinians knowledge in languages. "They have languages enough, and you know that Habesh is called the Paradise of Asses." During this conversation, Mr. Bruce took the sheriffe of Mecca's letter, also one from the king of Abyssinia; he gave him the king's first, and then the sheriffe's. He took them both as Mr. Bruce gave them, but laid aside the king's upon a cushion, till he had read the sheriffe's. After this he read the king's, and called

immediately again for an Abyssinian interpreter upon which Mr. Bruce said nothing, supposing, perhaps, he might chuse to make him deliver some message to him in private, which he would not have his people hear. But it was pure confusion and absence of mind, for he never spoke a word to him when he came. "You are a physician and a soldier," says the king. "Both, in time of need," said Mr. Bruce. "But the sherriffe's letter tells me also, that you are a nobleman in the service of a great king, that they call Englise-man, who is master of all the Indies, and and who has Mahometan as well as Christian subjects, and allows them all to be governed by their own laws."—"Though I never said so to the sheriffe," replied Mr. Bruce, "yet it is true; I am as noble as any individual in my nation, and am also servant to the greatest king now reigning upon earth, of whose dominions, it is likewise truly said these Indies are but a small part."—"How comes it," says the king, "you that are so noble and learned that you know all things, all languages, and so brave that you fear no danger, but pass, with two or three old men, into such countries as this and Habesh, where Baady, my father, perished with an army? How comes it that you do not stay at home and enjoy yourself, eat, drink, take pleasure and rest, and not wander like a poor man, a prey to every danger?"—"You, Sir," replied Mr. Bruce, "may know some of this sort of men; certainly you do know them; for there are in your religion, as well as mine, men of learning, and those too of great rank and nobility, who, on account of sins they have committed, or vows they have made, renounce the world, its riches and pleasures. "True, these are Dervish," said some that were present. "I am then one of these Dervish," said Mr. Bruce, "content with the bread that is given me, and bound for some years to travel in hardships and danger, doing all the good I can to poor and rich, serving every man, and hurting none." "Tybe! that is well,"

said the king. "And how long have you been travelling about? adds one of the others. "Near twenty years," said Mr. Bruce.—"You must be very young," says the king, "to have committed so many sins, and so early; they must all have been with women?—"Part of them, I suppose, were," replied Mr. Bruce, "but I did not say I was one of those that travelled on account of their sins, but that there were some Dervishes that did so on account of their vows, and some to learn wisdom." Mr. Bruce now withdrew.

The drum beat a little after six o'clock in the evening. They then had a very comfortable dinner sent them, camel's flesh stewed with an herb of a viscous, slimy substance, called Bammia. About eight o'clock came a servant from the palace, telling Mr. Bruce, now was the time to bring the present to the king. He sorted the separate articles with all the speed he could, and they went directly to the palace. The king was then sitting in a large appartment, as far as he could guess, at some distance from the former. He was naked, but had several clothes lying upon his knee, and about him, and a servant was rubbing him over with very stinking butter, or grease, with which his hair was dropping as if wet with water. The king asked Mr. Bruce if ever he greased himself as he did? Mr. Bruce said very seldom, but fancied it would be very expensive. He then told him that it was elephant's grease, which made people strong, and preserved the skin very smooth. Our traveller said, he thought it very proper, but could not bear the smell of it, though his skin should turn as rough as an elephant's for the want of it. He said, if Mr. Bruce had used it, his hair would not have turned so red as it was, and that it would all become white presently, when that redness came off. As for the smell, you will see that cured presently.

After having rubbed him abundantly with grease, they brought a pretty large horn, and in it something

scented, about as liquid as honey. It was plain that civet was a great part of the composition. The king went out at the door, and there two men deluged him over with pitchers of cold water, whilst he was stark-naked. He then returned, and a slave annointed him with this sweet ointment; after which he sat down, as completely dressed, being just going to his women's apartment, where he was to sup.

His toilet being finished, our traveller then produced his present, which he told him the king of Abyssinia had sent to him, hoping that, according to the faith and custom of nations, he would not only protect him while here, but send him safely and speedily out of his dominions into Egypt. He answered, there was a time when he could have done all this, and more, but those times were changed. Sennaar was in ruin, and was not like what it was. He then ordered some perfumed forbet to be brought for Mr. Bruce to drink in his presence, which is a pledge that your person is in safety. The king thereupon withdrew, and went to his ladies.

It was not till the 8th of May Mr. Bruce had his audience of Shekh Adelan at Aira, which is three miles and an half from Sennaar; they walked out early in the morning, for the greatest part of the way along the side of the Nile, which had no beauty, being totally divested of trees, the bottom foul and muddy, and the edges of the water white, with small concretions of calcareous earth, which, with the bright sun upon them, dazzled and affected their eyes very much. They then struck across a large sandy plain, without trees or bushes, and came to Adelan's habitation.

Within the gate was a number of horses, with the soldiers' barracks behind them; they were all picqueted in ranks, their faces to their master's barracks. It was one of the finest sights Mr. Bruce ever saw of the kind. They were all above sixteen hands high, of the breed of the old Saracen horses, all finely

made, and as strong as our coach horses, but exceedingly nimble in their motion; they were mostly black, some of them black and white, some of them milk-white foaled, so not white by age, with white eyes and white hoofs.

A steel shirt of mail hung upon each man's quarters opposite to his horse, and by it an antelope's skin, made soft like shamoy, with which it was covered from the dew of the night. A head-piece of copper, without crest or plumage, was suspended by a lace above the shirt of mail, and was the most picturesque part of the trophy. To these was added, an enormous broad sword, in a red leather scabberd; and upon the pummel hung two thick gloves. They told Mr. Bruce, that, within inclosure at Aira, there were four hundred horses, which, with the riders, and armour complete for each of them, were all the property of Shekh Adelan, every horseman being his slave, and bought with his money.

Adelan was then sitting upon a piece of the trunk of a palm-tree, in the front of one of these divisions of his horses, which he seemed to be contemplating with pleasure; a number of black people, his own servants and friends, were standing round him. He had on a long drab-coloured camlet gown, lined with yellow satin, and a camel cap, like a head piece, with two short points that covered his ears. This, it seems, was his dress, when he rose early in the morning to visit his horses, which he never neglected. The shekh was above six feet high, rather corpulent, had a heavy walk, seemingly more from affectation of grandeur, than want of agility. He was about sixty, of the colour and features of an Arab, and not of a negro, but had rather more beard than falls to the lot of people in this country; large piercing eyes, and a determined, though, at the same time, a very pleasing countenance. Upon Mr. Bruce coming near him, he got up, "You that are a horseman, says he, without any salutation, what would your king of Habesh

give for these horses?"—"What king, answered Mr. Bruce in the same tone, would not give any price for such horses, if he knew their value?"

They then went into a large saloon, hung round with mirrors and scarlet damask; in one of the longest sides were two large sofas covered with crimson and yellow damask, and large cushions of cloth of gold, like to the king's. He now pulled off his camlet gown and cap, and remained in a crimson satin coat, reaching down below his knees, which lapped over at the breast, and was girt round his waist with a scarf, or sash, in which he had stuck a short dagger, in an ivory sheath, mounted with gold; and one of the largest and most beautiful amethysts upon his finger that Mr. Bruce ever saw, mounted plain, without any diamonds, and a small gold ear-ring in one of his ears.

After some general conversation, in which Adelan gave a very unfavourable account of the state of the country, Mr. Bruce gave him the sheriffe's letter, which he opened, looked at, and laid by without reading, saying only, "Aye, Metical is a good man, he sometimes takes care of our people going to Mecca; for my part, I never was there, and probably never shall." Mr. Bruce then presented his letter from Ali Bey to him. He placed it upon his knee, and gave a slap upon it with his open hand. "What! do you not know, said he, that Mahomet Abou Dahab, his Hasnadar, has rebelled against him, banished him out of Cairo, and now sits in his place? But don't be disconcerted at that, I know you to be a man of honour and prudence; if Mahomet, my brother, does not come, as soon as I can get leisure, I will dispatch you." The servant that had conducted Mr. Bruce to Sennaar, and was then with him, went forward close to him, and said, in a kind of whisper, "Should he go often to the king?"—"When he pleases; he may go to see the town, and take a walk, but never alone, and also to the palace, that, when he returns to his own country, he may report that he

saw a king at Sennaar, that neither knows how to govern, nor will suffer others to teach him; who knows not how to make war, and yet will not sit in peace."

Mr. Bruce then took his leave of him, but there was a plentiful breakfast for them in the other room, to which he sent them. At going out Mr. Bruce took his leave by kissing his hand, which he submitted to without reluctance. Shekh, said our travellers, when I pass these Arabs in the square, I hope it will not disoblige you if I converse with some of them out of curiosity? "By no means, replied he, as much as you please; but don't let them know where they can find you at Sennaar, or they will be in your house from morning till night, will eat up all your victuals, and then, in return, will cut your throat, if they can meet you upon your journey."

Mr. Bruce returned home to Sennaar very well pleased with his reception at Aira. He had not seen, since he left Gondar, a man so open and frank in his manners, and who spoke without disguise what apparently he had in his heart.

The next morning, after Mr. Bruce came home from Aira, he was agreeably surprised by a visit from Hagi Belal, to whom he had been recommended by Metical Aga, and to whom Ibrahim Seraff, the English broker at Jidda, had addressed him for any money he should want at Sennaar. Belal welcomed him with great kindness, and repeated testimonies of joy and wonder at his safe arrival. He had been down at Atbara at Gerri, or some villages near it, with merchandise, and had not yet seen the king since he came home, but gave Mr. Bruce the very worst description possible of the country, insomuch that there seemed to be not a spot, but the one he then stood on, in which he was not in imminent danger of destruction, from a variety of independent causes, which it seemed not possible in his power to avoid. In the evening, he sent Mr. Bruce some refreshments, which he had long been unaccustomed to: some tea, excellent coffee,

some honey, and brown sugar, several bottles of rack, likewise nutmegs, cinnamon, ginger, and some very good dates of the dry kind, which he had bought from Athara.

Hagi Belal was a native of Morocco. He had been at Cairo, and also at Jidda and Mocha. He knew the English well, and professed himself both obliged and attached to them. It was some days before Mr. Bruce ventured to speak to him upon money business, or upon any probability of finding assistance here at Sennaar. He gave him little hopes of the latter, repeating to him what he very well knew about the disagreement of the king and Adelan. He seemed to place all his expectations, and those were but faint ones, in the coming of Shekh Abou Kalec from Kordofan. He said, nothing could be expected from Shekh Adelan, without going to Aira, for that he would never trust himself in Sennaar, in this king's life time; but that the minister was absolute, the moment he assembled his troops without the town.

One morning he came to Mr. Bruce, after having been with the king, when our traveller was himself preparing to go to the palace. He said, he had been sent for upon his account, and had been questioned very narrowly what sort of a man he was. Having answered very favourably, both of him and his nation, he had asked for Metical Aga's letters, or any other letters received concerning him from Jidda; he said, that he had only shewn Metical's letter, wrote in the name of the sheriffe, as also one from himself; that there were several great officers of government present; and the Cadi had read the letters aloud to them all: that one of them had asked, how it came that such a man as our traveller ventured to pass these deserts, with four or five old servants, and what it was he came to see; that he answered, he apprehended his chief object at Sennaar was, to be forwarded to his own country. It was also asked, why Mr. Bruce had not some Englishmen with him, as none of his servants were of that nation, but poor beggarly Kopts,

Arabs, and Turks, who were none of them of his religion. Belal answered, that travellers through these countries must take up with such people as they can find going the same way; however, he believed some English servants had died in Abyssinia, which country he had left the first opportunity that had offered, being wearied by the perpetual war which prevailed. Upon which the king said, "He has chosen well, when he came into this country for peace. You know, Hagi Belal, I can do nothing for him; there is nothing in my hands. I could easier get him back into Abyssinia than forward him into Egypt. Who is it now that can pass into Egypt?" The Cadi then said, "Hagi Belal can get him to Suakem, and so to Jidda to his countrymen." To which Belal replied, "The king will find some way when he thinks farther of it."

A few days after this, Mr. Bruce had a message from the palace. He found the king sitting alone, apparently much chagrined, and in ill-humour. He asked him in a very peevish manner, if he was not yet gone? To which he answered, "Your majesty knows that it is impossible for me to go a step from Sennaar, without assistance from you." He again asked him, in the same tone as before, "how he could think of coming that way?" He said nobody imagined in Abyssinia, but that he was able to give a stranger safe conduct through his dominions. He made no reply, but nodded a sign for him to depart, which he immediately did, and so finished this short, but disagreeable interview.

About four o'clock that same afternoon, Mr. Bruce was again sent for to the palace, when the king told him, that several of his wives were ill, and desired that he would give them his advice, which he promised to do without difficulty, as all acquaintance with the fair sex had hitherto been much to his advantage. He was admitted into a large square apartment, very ill-lighted, in which were about fifty women, all perfect-

ly black, without any covering but a very narrow piece of cotten rag about their waists. While he was musing whether or not these all might be queens, or whether there was any queen among them, one of them took him by the hand, and led him rudely enough into another apartment. This was much better lighted than the first. Upon a large bench or sofa, covered with blue Surat cloth, sat three persons, clothed from the head to the feet with blue cotton shirts.

One of these, who it seems was the favourite, was about six feet high, and corpulent beyond all proportion. She seemed to him, next to the elephant and rhinoceros, to be the largest living creature he had met with. Her features were perfectly like those of a negro; a ring of gold passed through her under lip, and weighed it down, till, like a flap, it covered her chin, and left her teeth bare, which were very small and fine. The inside of her lip she had made black with antimony. Her ears reached down to her shoulders, and had the appearance of wings; she had in each of them a large ring of gold, somewhat smaller than a man's little finger, and about five inches diameter. The weight of these had drawn down the hole where her ear was pierced, so much that three fingers might easily pass above the ring. She had a gold necklace, of several rows, one below another, to which were hung rows of sequins pierced. She had on her ankles two manacles of gold, larger than any he had ever seen upon the feet of felons, with which he could not conceive it was possible for her to walk; but afterwards he found they were hollow. The others were dressed pretty much in the same manner; only there was one that had chains which came from her ears to the outside of each nostril, where they were fastened. There was a so a ring put through the gristle of her nose, and which hung down to the opening of her mouth. It had, altogether, something of the appearance of a horse's bridle. Upon his coming near them, the eldest put her hand to her

mouth and kissed it, saying at the same time, in very vulgar Arabic, "Kifhalek howaja?" How do you do, merchant? Mr. Bruce never in his life was more pleased with distant salutations than at this time. He answered, "Peace be among you! I am a physician, and not a merchant." Mr. Bruce here omits to enumerate the multitude of their complaints; being a lady's physician, he considers discretion and silence as his first duties.

No horse, mule, ass, or any other of burthen, breed, or even live, at Sennaar, or many miles about it. Poultry cannot subsist there. Neither dog nor cat, sheep nor bullock, can be preserved a season at that place. They must go all, every half year, to the sands. Though all possible care, be taken of them, they die in every place where the fat earth is about the town during the first season of the rains. Two greyhounds, which Mr. Bruce brought from Atbara, and the mules which he brought from Abyssinia, lived only a few weeks after he arrived. They seemed to have some inward complaint, for nothing appeared outwardly. Several kings have tried to keep lions, but no care could prolong their lives beyond the first rains. Shekh Adelan had two, which were in great health, being kept with his horses at grass in the sands, but three miles from Sennaar.—Neither rose, nor any species of jessamine, grow here; no tree but the lemon flowers near the city, that ever Mr. Bruce saw; the rose has been often tried, but in vain.

Sennaar is in latitude 13 deg. 34 min. 36 sec. north, and in longitude 33 deg. 30 min. 30 sec. east from the meridian of Greenwich. It is on the west side of the Nile, and close upon the banks of it. The ground whereon it stands rises just enough to prevent the river from entering the town, even in the height of the inundation, when it comes to be even with the street.

The country around Sennaar is exceedingly pleasant in the end of August and beginning of Septem-

ber, Mr. Bruce means so far as the eye is concerned; instead of that barren, bare waste, which it appeared on their arrival in May, the corn now sprung up, and covering the ground, made the whole of this immense plain appear a level, green land, interspersed with great lakes of water, and ornamented at certain intervals with groups of villages, the conical tops of the houses presenting, at a distance, the appearance of small encampments. Through this immense, extensive plain, winds the Nile, a delightful river there, above a mile broad, full to the very brim, but never overflowing. Every where on these banks are seen numerous herds of the most beautiful cattle of various kinds, the tribute recently extorted from all the Arabs, who, freed from their vexations, return home with the remainder of their flocks in peace, at as great a distance from the town, country, and their oppressors, as they possibly can.

War and treason seem to be the only employment of this horrid people, whom Heaven has separated, by almost impassable deserts, from the rest of mankind, confining them to an accursed spot, seemingly to give them earnest in time of the only other worse which he has reserved to them for an eternal hereafter.

The dress of Sennaar is very simple. It consists of a long shirt of blue Surat cloth, called Marowty, which covers them from the lower part of the neck down to their feet, but does not conceal the neck itself; and this is the only difference between the men's and the women's dress; that of the women covers the neck altogether, being buttoned like ours. The men have sometimes a sash tied about their middle; and both men and women go bare-footed in the house, even those of the better sort of people. Their floors are covered with Persian carpets, especially the women's apartments. In fair weather, they wear sandals; and without doors they use a kind of wooden pattern very neatly ornamented with shells. In the greatest heat, at noon, they order buckets of water to be

thrown upon them instead of bathing. Both men and women anoint themselves, at least once a day, with camels' grease mixed with civet, which they imagine softens their skin, and preserves them from cutaneous eruptions, of which they are so fearful, that the smallest pimple in any visible part of their body keeps them in the house till it disappears. For the same reason, though they have a clean shirt every day, they use one dipt in grease to sleep in, as they have no covering but this, and lie upon a bull's hide tanned, and very much softened by this constant greasing, and at the same time very cool, though it occasions a smell that no washing can free them from.

The poorer sort live upon millet, made into bread or flour. The rich make a pudding of this, toasting the flour before the fire, and pouring milk and butter into it; besides which, they eat beef, partly roasted and partly raw. Their horned cattle are the largest and fattest in the world, and are exceedingly fine; but the common meat sold in the market is camels' flesh. The liver of the animal, and the spare rib, are always eaten raw through the whole country. Mr. Bruce never saw one instance where it was dressed with fire. It is not then true, that eating raw flesh is peculiar to Abyssinia; it is practised in this instance of camels' flesh in all the black countries to the westward. Hogs flesh is not sold in the market; but all the people of Sennaar eat it publicly: men in office, who pretend to be Mahometans, eat their's in secret.

On the 7th of August, Mr. Bruce was informed by Hagi Belal, that Shekh Fidele of Teawa had been several days in the palace with the king, and had informed him that Mr. Bruce was laden with money, besides a quantity of cloth of gold, the richest he had ever seen, which the king of Abyssinia had destined as a present to him, but which our traveller had perverted to his own use: He added, that the king had expressed himself in a very threatening manner, and that he was very much afraid he was not in safety if

Shekh Adelan was gone from Aira. Upon this, Mr. Bruce desired Hagi Belal to go to the palace, and obtain for him an audience of the king. In vain he represented to our traveller the risk he ran by this measure; he persisted in his resolution; he was tied to the stake. To fly was impossible, and he had often overcome such dangers by braving them.

Belal went then unwillingly to the palace. Whether he delivered the message he knows not, but he returned saying, the king was busy and could not be seen. Mr. Bruce had, in the interim, sent Soliman to the Gindi, or Sed el Coom, telling him his difficulties, and the news he had heard. In place of returning an answer, he came directly to him himself, and was sitting with him when Hagi Belal returned, who appeared somewhat disconcerted at the meeting. Gindi chid Hagi Belal very sharply, asking him what good all that tittle-tattle did either him or Mr. Bruce, and insinuated pretty plainly, that he believed Hagi Belal did this in concert with the king, to extort some present from our traveller. After some farther conversation, Gindi took his leave, and Mr. Bruce attended him down stairs, with many professions of gratitude; and at the door he said, in a very low voice, to our traveller, "Take care of yon Belal, he is a "dog worse than a christian."

It was now the 20th; and, for several days, since Adelan's departure, no provisions were sent to Mr. Bruce's house, as before was usual. Money, therefore, became absolutely necessary, not only for their daily subsistence, but for camels to carry their baggage, provisions, and water across the desert. He now despaired absolutely of assistance of any kind from the king; and an accident that happened made him lay all thoughts aside of troubling him more upon the subject. There are at Mecca a number of black eunuchs, whose services are dedicated to that temple, and the sepulchre of Medina. Part of these, from time to time, procure liberty to return on a visit to

their respective homes, or to the large cities where they were sold from, on the Nigre, Bornou, Toerur, and Tombucto, where they beg donations for the holy places, and frequently collect large sums of gold, which abounds in these towns and territories. One of these, called Mahomet Towash, which signifies eunuch, had returned from a begging voyage in Sudan, or Nigritia, and was at Sennaar exceedingly ill with an intermitting fever. The king had sent for Mr. Bruce to visit him, and the bark in a few days had perfectly recovered him. A proportional degree of gratitude had, in return, taken place in the breast of Mahomet, who, going to Cairo, was exceedingly desirous of taking Mr. Bruce with him, and this desire was increased, when he heard he had letters from the sheriffe of Mecca, and was acquainted with Metical Aga, who was his immediate master.

Nothing could be more fortunate than this rencounter at such a time, for he had spare camels in great plenty, and the Arabs, as he passed them, continued giving him more, and supported him with provisions wherever he went; for these people, being accounted sacred, and regarded with a certain religious awe, as being in the immediate service of their prophet, till now used to pass inviolate wherever they were going, however unsettled the times, or however slenderly attended.

Every thing was now ready, Mr. Bruce's instruments and baggage packed up, and the 25th of August fixed when they should begin their journey to Atbara. Mahomet, who passed a great part of his time at Mr. Bruce's house, had not been seen by them for several days, which they did not think extraordinary, being busy themselves, and knowing that his trade demanded continual attendance on the great people; but they were exceedingly surprised at hearing from his black, Soliman, that he and all his equipage had set out the night of the 20th for Atbara. This they found afterwards was at the earnest persuasion

of the king and was at that time a heavy disappointment to Mr. Bruce, however fortunate it turned out afterwards.

The night of the 25th, which was to have been that of their departure, Mr. Bruce sat late in his room up stairs, in the back, or most private part of their house. His little company was holding with him a most melancholy council on what had so recently happened, and, in general, upon the unpromising face of their affairs. Their single lamp was burning very low, and suggested to them that it was the hour of sleep, to which, however, none of them were very much inclined. Georgis, a Greek, who, on account of the soreness of his eyes, had staid below in the dark, and had fallen asleep, came running up stairs in a great fright, and told them, he had been awakened by the noise of men endeavouring to force open the door; that he hearkened a little, and found there were many of them. Their arms were all ready, and they snatched them up and ran towards the door; but Mr. Bruce stopt, and planted them upon the first landing-place upon the staircase, as he wished not to fire till the enemy was fairly in the house, that no excuse might remain for this their violation of hospitality. By this time, the assailants had forced the outer gate, and were then in the lodge, endeavouring to do the same by the inner, having put a handspike under it to lift it up from the hinges. "Are you not madmen, said Mr. Bruce, and weary of your lives, to attempt to force Adelan's house, when there are within it men, abundantly provided with large firearms, that, upon one discharge through the door, will lay you all dead where you now stand?" "Stand by from the door, cries Ismael, and let me fire. These black Kafrs don't yet know what my blunderbuss is." They had been silent from the time Mr. Bruce had spoken, and had withdrawn the handspike from under the door. "Ullah! Ullah! cries one of them softly, how sound you sleep! we have been endea-

vouring to awaken you this hour. The king is ill; tell Yagoube to come to the palace, and open the door instantly." "Tell the king, said Mr. Bruce, to drink warm water, and I will see him in the morning." At this time one of Mr. Bruce's servants fired a pistol in the air out of an upper window, upon which they all ran off. They seemed to be about ten or twelve in number, and left three handspikes behind them. The noise of the pistol brought the guard, or patrole, in about half an hour, who carried intelligence to the Sid el Coom, our traveller's friend, by whom he was informed in the morning, that he had found them all out, and put them in irons; that Mahomet, the king's servant, who met them at Teawa was one of them; and there was no possibility now of concealing this from Adelan, who would order him to be impaled.

Things were now come to such a crisis, that Mr. Bruce was determined to leave his instruments and papers with Kittou, Adelan's brother, or with the Sid el Coom, while he went to Shaddly to see Adelan. But first he thought it necessary to apply to Hagi Belal, to try what funds they could raise to provide the necessaries for their journey. Mr. Bruce shewed him the letter of Ibrahim, the English broker of Jidda, of which before he had received a copy and repeated advices, and told him he should want two hundred sequins at least, for his camels and provisions, as well as for some presents that he should have occasion for, to make his way to the great men in Atbara. Never was his surprise better counterfeited than by this man. He held up his hands in the utmost astonishment, repeating two hundred sequins! over twenty times, and asked Mr. Bruce if he thought money grew upon the trees at Sennaar; that it was with the utmost difficulty he could spare him twenty dollars, part of which he must borrow from a friend.

This was a stroke that seemed to insure Mr. Bruce's

destruction, no other resources being now left. They were already indebted to Hagi Belal, twenty dollars for provision; they had seven mouths to feed daily; and as they had neither meat, money, nor credit, to continue at Sennaar was impossible. They had seen, a few nights before, that no house could protect them there; and to leave Sennaar was, in their situation, as impossible as to stay there. They had neither camels to carry their provisions and baggage, nor skins for their water; nor, indeed, any provisions to carry, nor money to supply them with any of these, nor knew any person that could give them any assistance nearer than Cairo, from which they were then distant about seventeen degrees of the meridian, or above one thousand miles in a straight line; great part of which was through the most barren and inhospitable deserts in the world, destitute of all vegetation, and of every animal that had the breath of life. Hagi Belal was inflexible; he began now to be weary of our travellers, to see them but seldom, and there was great appearance of his soon withdrawing himself entirely.

Mr. Bruce's servants began to murmur: some of them had known of his gold chain from the beginning, and these, in the common danger, imparted what they knew to the rest. In short, he resolved, though very unwillingly, not to sacrifice his own life, and that of his servants, and the finishing his travels, now so far advanced, to childish vanity. He determined, therefore, to abandon his gold chain, the honourable recompence of a day full of fatigue and danger. Whom to intrust it to was the next consideration; and, upon mature deliberation, he found it could be to nobody but Hagi Belal, bad as he had reason to think he was. However, to put a check upon him, he sent for the Sid el Coom, in whose presence he repeated his accusation against Belal; he read the seraff's letter in his favour, and the several letters that Belal had written him whilst he was at Gondar,

declaring his acceptance of the order to furnish him with money when he should arrive at Sennaar; and he upbraided him in the strongest terms with duplicity and breach of faith.

But all that he could say was very far short of the violent expostulation from the Gindi that immediately followed. He gave Hagi Belal many not obscure hints, that he looked upon this injury as done to himself, and would repay him; that though he had done this to please the king, the time might not be far off when that favour would be of very little use to him; on the contrary, might be a reason for stripping him of all he had in the world. The force of these arguments seemed to strike Hagi Belal's imagination very powerfully. He even offered to advance fifty sequins, and to see if he could raise any more among his friends. The Gindi, a rare instance in that country, offered to lend him fifty. But the dye was now cast, the chain had been produced and seen, and it was become exceeding dangerous to carry such a quantity of gold in any shape along with him. He therefore consented to sell it to Hagi Belal in the presence of the Gindi, and they immediately set about the purchase of necessaries, with this proviso, that if Adelan, upon Mr. Bruce's going to Shaddly, did furnish him camels and necessaries, so much of the chain should be returned.

It was the 5th of September, that they were all prepared to leave this capital of Nubia, an inhospitable country from the beginning, and which, every day they continued in it, had engaged them in greater difficulties and dangers. They flattered themselves, that, once disengaged from this bad step, the greatest part of their sufferings was over; for they had apprehended nothing but from men, and, with very great reason, thought they had seen the worst of them.

In the evening, Mr. Bruce received a message from the king to come directly to the palace. He

accordingly obeyed, taking two servants along with him, and found him sitting in a little, low chamber, very neatly fitted up with chintz, or printed calico curtains, of a very gay and glaring pattern. He was smoking with a very long Persian pipe through water, was alone, and seemed rather grave than in ill-humour. He gave Mr. Bruce his hand to kiss as usual, and after pausing a moment without speaking, a slave brought him a little stool, and set it down just opposite to him; upon which he said, in a low voice, so that Mr. Bruce could scarcely hear him, "Fudda, sit down," pointing to the stool. He sat down accordingly. You are going, I hear, says he, to Adelan. Our traveller answered, "Yes." "Did he send for you?" He said, "No; but as he wanted to return to Egypt, he expected letters from him in answer to those he brought from Cairo." *King.* "You are not so gay as when you arrived here." *Mr. Bruce.* "I have had no very great reason." Their conversation was now taking a very laconic and serious turn, but he did not seem to understand the meaning of what he said last. *K.* "Adelan has sent for you by my desire; Wed Abroff and all the Jehaina Arabs have rebelled, and will pay no tribute. They say you have a quantity of powerful firearms with you that will kill twenty or thirty men at a shot." *Mr. Bruce.* "Say fifty or sixty, if it hits them." *K.* "He is therefore to employ you with your guns to punish those Arabs, and spoil them of their camels, part of which he will give to you." Mr. Bruce presently understood what he meant, and only answered, "I am a stranger here, and desire to hurt no man. My arms are for my own defence against robbery and violence." At this instant the Turk, Hagi Ismael, cried from without the door, in broken Arabic, "Why did not you tell those black Kafrs, you sent to rob and murder us the other night, to stay a little longer, and you would have been better able to judge what our firearms can do, with-

out sending for us either to Abroff or Adelan. By the head of the prophet! let them come in the day-time, and I will fight ten of the best you have in Sennaar." *K.* "The man is mad, but he brings me to speak of what was in my head when I desired to see you. Adelan has been informed that Mahomet, my servant, who brought you from Teawa, has been guilty of a drunken frolic at the door of his house, and has sent soldiers to take him to-day, with two or three others of his companions." *Mr. Bruce.* "I know nothing about Mahomet, nor do I drink with him or give him drink. About half a score of people broke into Adelan's house in the night, with a view to rob and murder us, but I was not at the pains to fire at such wretches as these. Two or three servants with sticks were all that were needful. I understand, indeed, that Shekh Adelan is exceedingly displeased that I did not fire at them, and has sent to the Gindi, ordering him to deliver two of them to him to-morrow to be executed publicly before the door of his house on the market-day. But this, you know, is among yourselves. I am very well pleased none of them are dead, as they might have been, by my hands or those of my people." *K.* "True; but Adelan is not king, and I charge you when you see him to ask for Mahomet's life, or a considerable deal of blame will fall upon you. When you return back, I will send him to conduct you to the frontiers of Egypt." Upon this Mr. Bruce bowed, and took his leave. He went home perfectly determined what he was to do. He had now obtained from the king an involuntary safeguard till he should arrive at Adelan's; that is, he was sure that, in hopes Mr. Bruce might procure a reprieve for Mahomet, no trap would be laid for him on the road. He determined therefore to make the best use of his time; and every thing being ready, they loaded the camels, and sent them forward that night to a small village called Soliman, three or four miles from Sennaar; and having

settled his accounts withe Hagi Belal, he received back six links, the miserable remains of one hundred and eighty-four, of which his noble chain once consisted.

This traitor kept him the few last minutes to write a letter to the English at Jidda, to recommend him for the service he had done Mr. Bruce at Sennaar; and this he complied with, that he might inform the broker Ibrahim that he had received no money from his correspondent, and give him a caution never again to trust Hagi Belal in similar circumstances.

After leaving Sennaar, Mr. Bruce was overtaken on the road by a black slave, who at first gave him some apprehension, as he was alone with only one Barbarian, a Nubian servant, by the side of his camel, and was going slowly. Upon enquiry, he found him to be sent from Hagi Belal, with a basket containing some green tea and sugar, and four bottles of rack, in return for his letter. He sent back the messenger, and gave the care of the basket to his own servant; and, about ten o'clock in the evening of the 5th of September, they all met together joyfully at Soliman.

On the 8th of September, they left the village of Soliman, and about three o'clock in the afternoon came to Wed el Tumbel, three villages situated upon a pool of water, nearly in a line from north to south.

On the 4th of October, after meeting with various adventures in the course of their journey, but none of them of any material consequence, they arrived at Chendi, or Chundi, which is a large village, the capital of its district, the government of which belongs to Sittina, as she is called, which signifies the mistress, or the lady, she being sister to Wed Ageb, the principal of the Arabs in this country. She had been married, but her husband was dead. She had one son, Idris Wed el Faal, who was to succeed to the government of Chendi upon his mother's death,

and who, in effect, governed all affairs of his kindred already.

Chendi has in it about two hundred and fifty houses, which are not all built contiguous, some of the best being separate, and that of Sittina's is half a mile from the town. There are two sr three tolerable houses, but the rest are miserable hovels, built of clay and reeds. Sittina gave Mr. Bruce one of these houses, which he used for keeping his instruments and baggage from being pilfered or broken; he slept abroad in the tent, and it was even there hot enough. The women of Chendi are esteemed the most beautiful in Atbara, and the men the greatest cowards. This is the character they bear among their countrymen; but they had little opportunity of verifying either.

On their arrival at Chendi they found the people very much alarmed at a phenomenon, which, though it often happens, by some strange inadvertency had never been observed, even in this serene sky. The planet Venus appeared shining with undiminished light all day, in defiance of the brightest sun, from which she was but little distant. Though this phenomenon be visible every four years, it filled all the people, both in town and country, with alarm. They flocked to Mr. Bruce in crowds from all quarters to be satisfied what it meant, and, when they saw his telescopes and quadrant, they could not be persuaded but that the star had become visible by some correspondence and intelligence with him, and for his use. The bulk of the people in all countries is the same; they never fortel any thing but evil. The very regular and natural appearance of this planet was immediately converted, therefore, into a sign that there would be a bad harvest next year, and scanty rains; that Abou Kalec with an army would depose the king, and overrun all Atbara; whilst some threatened Mr. Bruce as a principal operator in bringing about these disasters. On the other hand, without seeming over-

solicitous about his vindication, he insinuated among the better sort, that this was a lucky and favourable sign, a harbinger of good fortune, plenty, and peace. The clamour upon this subsided very much to his advantage, the rather, because Sittina and her son Idris knew certainly Mahomet Abou Kalec was not to be in Athara that year.

On the 12th of October, Mr. Bruce waited upon Sittina, who received him behind a screen, so that it was impossible either to see her figure or face; he observed, however, that there were apertures so managed in the screen that she had a perfect view of him. She expressed herself with great politeness, talked much upon the terms in which Adelan was with the king, and wondered exceedingly how a white man like him, should venture so far in such an ill-governed country. "Allow me, Madam, said Mr. Bruce, to complain of a breach of hospitality in you, which no Arab has been yet guilty towards me." "I! said she, that would be strange indeed, to a man that bears my brother's letter. How can that be!" "Why, you tell me, Madam, that I am a white man, by which I know that you see me, without giving me the like advantage. The queens of Sennaar did not use me so hardly; I had a full sight of them without using any importunity." On this she broke out into a great fit of laughter, then fell into a conversation about medicines to make her hair grow, or rather to hinder it from falling off. She desired Mr. Bruce to come to her the next day; that her son Idris would be then at home from the Howat, and that he very much wished to see him. She that day sent them plenty of provisions from her own table.

On the 13th it was so excessively hot, that it was impossible to suffer the burning sun. The poisonous Simoom blew likewise as if it came from an oven. Their eyes were dim, their lips cracked, their knees tottering, their throats perfectly dry, and no relief was found from drinking an immoderate quantity of

water. The people advised Mr. Bruce to dip a sponge in vinegar and water, and hold it before his mouth and nose, and this greatly relieved him. In the evening he went to Sittina. Upon entering the house, a black slave laid hold of him by the hand, and placed him in a passage, at the end of which were two opposite doors. Mr. Bruce did not well know the reason of this; but staid only a few minutes, when he heard one of the doors at the end of the passage open, and Sittina appeared magnificently dressed, with a kind of round cap of solid gold upon the crown of her head, all beat very thin, and hung round with sequins; with a variety of gold chains, solitaires, and necklaces of the same metal, about her neck. Her hair was plaited in ten or twelve small divisions like tails, which hung down below her waist, and over her was thrown a common cotton white garment. She had a purple silk stole, or scarf, hung very gracefully upon her back, brought again round her waist, without covering her shoulders or arms. Upon her wrists she had two bracelets like handcuffs, about half an inch thick, and two gold manacles of the same at her feet, fully an inch diameter, the most disagreeable and awkward part of her dress. Mr. Bruce expected she would have hurried through with some affectation of surprise. On the contrary, she stopt in the middle of the passage, saying, in a very grave manner, "Kifhalec—how are you?" Mr. Bruce thought this was an opportunity of kissing her hand, which he did without her shewing any sort of reluctance. "Allow me, as a physician, madam, said Mr. Bruce, to say one word." She bowed with her head, and said, "go in at that door, and I will hear you." The slave appeared, and carried him through a door at the bottom of the passage into a room, while her mistress vanished in at another door at the top, and there was the screen he had seen the day before, and the lady sitting behind it.

She was a woman scarcely forty, taller than th middle size, had a very round plump face, her mout rather large, very red lips, the finest teeth and eye he had seen, but at the top of her nose, and betwee her eye-brows, she had a small speck made of cohol or antimony, four-cornered, and of the size of th smallest patches our women used to wear; anothe rather longer upon the top of her nose, and one o the middle of her chin.

The following lively dialogue immediately tool place between her and our traveller. *Sittina.* "Tel me what you would say to me as a physician." *Mr Bruce.* "It is, madam, in consequence of your dis course yesterday. That heavy gold cap, with whic you press your hair, will certainly be the cause of a great part of it falling off." *Sitt.* "I believe so but I should catch cold, I am so accustomed to it, i I was to leave it off. Are you a man of name an family in your own country?" *Mr. Bruce.* "O both, madam." *Sitt.* "Are the women handsome there?" *Mr. Bruce.* "The handsomest in the world madam; but they are so good, and so excellent in al other respects, that nobody thinks at all of thei beauty, nor do they value themselves upon it." *Sitt.* "And do they allow you to kiss their hands?" *Mr. Bruce.* "I understand you, madam, though you have mistaken me. There is no familiarity in kissing hands, it is a mark of homage and distant respect paid in my country to our sovereigns, and to none earthly besides."

Sitt. "O yes! but the kings." *Mr. Bruce.* "Yes, and the queens too, always on the knee, madam; I said our sovereigns, meaning both king and queen. On her part it is a mark of gracious condescension, in favour of rank, merit, and honourable behaviour; it is a reward for dangerous and difficult services above all other compensation." *Sitt.* "But do you know, that no man ever kissed my hand but you?" *Mr. Bruce.* "It is impossible I should know that; nor is it material. Of this I am confident, it was

neant respectfully, cannot hurt you, and ought not offend you." *Sitt.* "It certainly has done neither; but I wish very much Idris my son would come and see you, as it is on his account I dressed myself today." *Mr. Bruce.* "I hope, madam, when I do see him, he will think of some way of forwarding me safely to Barbar, in my way to Egypt." *Sitt.* "Safely! God forgive you! you are throwing yourself away wantonly. Idris himself, king of this country, dares not undertake such a journey. But why did not you go along with Mahomet Towash? He set out only a few days ago for Cairo, the same way you are going, and has, I believe, taken all the Hybeers with him. Go call the porter," said she to her slave. When the porter came, "do you know if Mahomet Towash is gone to Egypt?" "I know he is gone to Barbar, says the porter; the two Mahomets, and Abd el Jelleel, the Bishareen, are with him." "Why did he take all the Hybeers?" said Sittina. "The men were tired and discouraged, answered the porter, by their late ill usage from the Cubbabeesh, and, being stripped of every thing, they wanted to be at home." *Sitt.* "Somebody else will offer, but you must not go without a good man with you; I will not suffer you. These Bishareen are people known here, and may be trusted; but while you stay, let me see you every day; and if you want any thing, send by a servant of mine. It is a tax, I know, improperly laid upon a man like you, to ask for every necessary, but Idris will be here and he will provide you better." He went away upon this conversation, and soon found, that Mahomet Towash had so well followed the direction of the Mek of Sennaar, as to take all the Hybeers, or guides of note with him, on purpose to disappoint Mr. Bruce.

Chendi is in lat. 16 deg. 38. min. 35 sec. north, and 33 deg. 24 min. 45 sec. east of the meridian of Greenwich.

On the 20th of October, in the evening, they left Chendi, and rested two miles from the town; and, on the 9th of November, having received all the assurances possible from Idris, the guide whom Mr. Bruce had engaged at Chendi, that he would live and die with them, after having repeated the prayer of peace, they put on the best countenance possible, and committed themselves to the desert. There were Ishmael the Turk, two Greek servants, besides Georgis, who was almost blind and useless. Two barbarians, who took care of the camels, Idris, and a young man, a relation of his, who joined him at Barbar, to return home; in all nine persons, eight only of whom were effective. They were all well armed with blunderbusses, swords, pistols, and double barrelled guns, except Idris and his lad, who had lances, the only arms they could use.

On the 14th, they were at once surprised and terrified, by a sight surely one of the most magnificent in the world. In that vast expanse of desert, from west and to north-west of them, they saw a number of prodigious pillars of sand at different distances, at times, moving with great celerity, at others, stalking on with a majestic slowness; at intervals, they thought they were coming in a very few minutes to overwhelm them; and small quantities of sand did actually more than once reach them. Again, they would retreat so as to be almost out of sight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often separated from the bodies; and these, once disjoined, dispersed in the air, and did not appear more. Sometimes, they were broken near the middle, as if struck with a large cannon shot. About noon, they began to advance with considerable swiftness upon them, the wind being very strong at north. Eleven of them ranged along-side of them, about the distance of three miles. The greatest diameter of the largest appeared to Mr. Bruce at that distance about ten feet. They retired from them with a wind at south-

east, leaving an impression upon our traveller's mind to which he can give no name, though surely one ingredient in it was fear, with a considerable deal of wonder and astonishment. It was in vain to think of flying; the swiftest horse, or fastest sailing ship could be of no use to carry them out of this danger; and the full persuasion of this rivetted him as if to the spot where he stood, and he let the camels gain on him so much in his state of lameness, that it was with some difficulty he could overtake them.

From this day, subordination, though not entirely ceased, was fast on the decline; all was discontent, murmuring, and fear. Their water was greatly diminished, and that terrible death by thirst began to stare them in the face, and this was owing in a great measure to their own imprudence. Ishmael, who had been left sentinel over the skins of water, had slept so soundly, that this had given an opportunity to a Tucorory to open one of the skins that had not been touched, and serve himself out of it at his own discretion. Mr. Bruce supposes, that, hearing somebody stir, and fearing detection, he had withdrawn himself as speedily as possible, without taking time to tie the mouth of the girba, which they found in the morning with scarce a quart of water in it.

The phenomenon of the simoon, unexpected by them, though foreseen by Idris, caused them all to relapse into the greatest despondency. It still continued to blow, so as to exhaust them entirely, though the blast was so weak as scarcely would have raised a leaf from the ground. At twenty minutes before five, the simoon ceased, and a comfortable and cooling breeze came by starts from the north blowing five or six minutes at a time, and then falling calm.

That desert, which did not afford inhabitants for the assistance or relief of travellers, had generally more than sufficient for destroying them. [illegible] tribes of Arabs, two or three thousand each [illegible]

together, were cantoned, as it were, in different places of this desert, where there was water enough to serve their numerous herds of cattle, and these, as their occasion required, traversed in parties all that wide expanse of solitude, from the mountains near the Red Sea, east, to the banks of the Nile on the west, according as their several designs or necessities required. These were Jahelcen Arabs, those cruel, barbarous fanatics, that deliberately shed so much blood during the time they were establishing the Mahometan religion. If it had been their lot to fall among these people, and it was next to a certainty that they were at that very instant surrounded by them, death was certain, and their only comfort was, that they could die but once; and that to die like men was in their own option. Indeed, without considering the bloody character which those wretches naturally bear, there could be no reason for letting them live: they could be of no service to them as slaves; and to have sent them into Egypt, after having first rifled and destroyed their goods, could not be done by them but at a great expence, to which well-inclined people only could have been induced from charity, and of that last virtue they had not even heard the name. Their only chance then remaining was, that their number might be so small, that, by our travellers great superiority in firearms and courage, they might turn the misfortune upon the aggressors, deprive them of their camels and means of carrying water, and leave them, scattered in the desert, to that death which either of them, without an alternative, must suffer. However, they were lucky enough not to meet with any of those barbarians.

On the 22d, their camels were reduced to five, and it did not seem that these were capable of continuing their journey much longer. In that case no remedy remained but that each man should carry his own water and provisions. Now, as no one man could carry the water he should use between well and well,

it was more than probable that distance would be doubled by some of the wells being found dry; and if that was not the case, yet, as it was impossible for a man to carry his provisions, who could not walk without any burden at all, their situation seemed to be most desperate.

On the 27th, at half past five in the morning, they attempted to raise their camels by every method that they could devise, but all in vain, only one of them could get upon his legs, and that one did not stand two minutes till he kneeled down, and could never be raised afterwards. Every way they turned themselves, death now stared them in the face. They had neither time nor strength to waste, nor provisions to support them. They then took the small skins that had contained their water, and filled them as far as they thought a man could carry them with ease; but after all these shifts, there was not enough to serve them threedays, at which he had estimated their journey to Syene, which still, however, was uncertain. Finding, therefore, the camels would not rise, they killed two of them, and took so much flesh as might serve the deficiency of bread, and, from the stomach of each of the camels, got about four gallons of water. The small remains of their miserable stock of black bread and dirty water, the only support they had hitherto lived on amidst the burning sands, and their spirits likewise were exhausted by an uncertainty of their journey's end. They were surrounded among those terrible and unusual phenomena of nature, which Providence, in mercy to the weakness of his creatures, had concealed far from their sight in deserts almost inaccessible to them. Nothing but death was before their eyes: all Mr. Bruce's papers, his quadrant, telescopes, and time-keeper, were now to be abandoned to the rude and ignorant hands of robbers, or to be buried in the sands. However, on the 29th, to their inexpressible joy, they saw the palm trees at Assouan, and a quarter before ten arrived in a grove of palm trees on the north of that city.

They were not long arrived, before they received from the Aga about fifty loaves of fine wheat bread, and several large dishes of drest meat. But the smell of these last no sooner reached Mr. Bruce than he fainted upon the floor. He made several trials afterwards, with no better success, for the first two days; nor could he reconcile himself to any sort of food but toasted bread and coffee. His servants had none of these qualms, for they partook largely and greedily of the Aga's bounty.

Mr. Bruce was obliged to keep his room five or six days after his arrival; but as soon as he got better, he and his servants set out on dromedaries, in order to recover his baggage. The Aga had sent four servants belonging to his stables to accompany them: active, lively, and good-humoured fellows. About twelve o'clock, they got into a valley, and hid themselves in the lowest part of it, under a bank, for the night was exceeding cold. Mr. Bruce was afraid, that they had passed his baggage in the dark, as none of them were perfectly sure of the place; but as soon as light came, they recovered their track as fresh and entire as when they made it. After having gone about half an hour in their former footsteps, they had the unspeakable satisfaction to find the quadrant and whole baggage; and by them the bodies of their slaughtered camels, a small part of one of them having been torn by the haddaya, or kite.

Mr. Bruce, after having received a very kind reception at this place, on the 11th of December, set out for Cairo, where he arrived on the 10th of January, 1773. The occurrences which now presented themselves to our traveller were such as are common and might be expected. The scene of wonders, of novelty, and of danger was passed, and he declines enlarging on circumstances of trivial consequence. After some stay at Cairo, Mr. Bruce proceeded to Alexandria; and from thence he happily reached Marseilles, where he finishes the history of his long-continued travels.

JOURNEY

TO

PALMYRA,

OR

TEDMOR IN THE DESERT;

AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE

RUINS OF BALBEC,

THE ANCIENT HELIOPOLIS, IN CŒLOSYRIA.

By Mr. WOOD.

THIS journey, which reflects no small lustre on our national character for a love of the arts, was undertaken in 1751, by Messrs. Dawkins and Bouverie, both gentlemen of distinguished taste and erudition, accompanied by Mr. Wood; from whose splendid work, on the antiquities of Palmyra and Balbec, the following account is abstracted.

Messrs. Dawkins and Bouverie, says our author, who, more than once, had been led by curiosity to travel into Italy, were persuaded, that a voyage, properly made to the most remarkable places in antiquity, on the coast of the Mediterranean, might be of advantage to the public, at the same time that it would afford knowledge and entertainment to themselves. As I had already seen most of the places they proposed to visit, they did me the honour to communicate their design to me, and I with pleasure accepted their invitation to be one of such an agreeable party. The advantageous idea I had formed of these gentlemen, whom I had several times met in France and Italy, flattered me with all the success that could be hoped for from such a voyage. Their intimate friend-

ship, their love of antiquities and the fine arts, and their being accustomed to travelling, were circumstances essential to our project; circumstances that seldom meet in two persons, who join to a taste and leisure for such researches, the necessary means of making them, and who have sufficient health and courage to support the fatigue of doing it.

We agreed, that it would be advisable to engage a fourth person, who was in Italy, and whose abilities were known to us with respect to his skill in architecture and drawing. We therefore wrote to him; and he agreed to be one of the party.

We chose Rome for the place of our rendezvous; and there spent the winter together, employing the greatest part of our time in refreshing our memories by reading ancient history, and in perfecting ourselves in the geography of the countries we proposed to visit.

The following spring we repaired to Naples, where we found a vessel we had hired at London, furnished with every thing we had thought would be of service to us. We had there a choice collection of the Greek poets and historians, books of antiquities, and accounts of the best voyages and travels. There were also on board such mathematical instruments as we might have occasion for, and presents fit for the Turks of distinction, and others, to whom we might be obliged to address ourselves in the course of our travels.

In this vessel we set sail, and visited most of the islands of the Archipelago, a part of Greece in Europe, the European and Asiatic coasts of the Hellespont, the Propontis and the Bosphorus as far the Black Sea. We penetrated into Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt, and visited the most remarkable places in each.

The different countries through which we passed are known to abound in various objects that merit the attention of the curious traveller; however, it

was less the present than the ancient state of these countries that attracted our regard; though each of us was able to gratify his peculiar taste. It is impossible to consider with indifference the countries where polite literature and the arts had their birth; where the captains, the orators, the philosophers, the poets, and the artists have, so bravely, and so happily, suffered their genius to soar, and done honour to human nature.

Circumstances of climate and situation, otherwise trivial, become interesting from their connection with the great men who have celebrated them, and with the illustrious actions, which history and poetry represent as being there performed. The life of Miltiades or Leonidas can no where be read with such pleasure as in the plains of Marathon, or at the Straights of Thermopylæ: the Iliad has new beauties on the banks of the Scamander; and the Odyssey has fresh charms in the country where Ulysses travelled, and Homer sung.

No part of a tour through the east is so difficult as a journey to Palmyra; for, it is necessay to go far from the common road, and where the grand seignior's protection can be of no service. Aleppo and Damascus seemed to be the places where we might best provide for our convenience and safety in this enterprise; but having endeavoured in vain to make the first of these cities, we anchored at Byroot, on the coast of Syria, and crossed over Mount Libanus, in order to go to Damascus.

The bassa of that city declared that he could not promise us, that either his name or his power would be of any service to us at the place to which we were going. From what he said, and from all that we could learn from others, we found that we must be obliged to go to Hassia, a village four days' journey to the mouth of Damascus, and the residence of an aga, whose jurisdiction extends to Palmyra. This little village is in the great road, by which the caravan of Damascus

passes to Aleppo; it is situated near Anti-Labanus, at a few hours distance from the river Orontes. The aga received us with the hospitality so common in this country among people of all ranks; and, though extremely surprised at our curiosity, he gave us, as well as he was able, the necessary instructions for gratifying it.

We left Hassia on the 10th of March, 1751, with an escort of the best Arab horsemen belonging to the aga, armed with guns and long pikes; and having crossed a barren plain, which scarcely produces vegetables sufficient to feed the antelopes we saw there, we arrived at Sudud. This is a small village inhabited by Maronite Christians: the houses are built of bricks dried in the sun; and the inhabitants cultivate as much land around the village as is barely sufficient for their subsistence; they also make tolerable good wine. We bought some manuscripts of their priest, and after dinner continued our journey to the south-east through the same sort of country, and in three hours more arrived at Howareen, where we took up our lodging.

Howareen has the same appearance of poverty as Sudud; but we found some ruins there, that are a proof of its being once a more considerable place. A square tower, with projecting battlements, seems to have been built three or four hundred years ago, and two churches, in ruins, may be of the same age: in these buildings there are materials that are much more ancient, but employed without judgment. We observed in the walls some Corinthian capitals, and many Attic bases of white marble. These fragments of antiquity, and some others we found scattered about, have belonged to works erected with more expence than taste. We had observed a neighbouring village entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, which frequently happens in this country; for, when the produce of the earth is not answerable to the cultivation, the inhabitants often quit their habitations to avoid op-

pression. The next day we left Howareen, and continuing to travel in the same direction, in three hours reached Carieteen, a village a little larger than the last, which has also some fragments of marble belonging to ancient edifices. We thought proper to stay here the remainder of the day, as well to wait for the rest of the escort the aga had ordered to accompany us, as to prepare our retinue and our cattle, for the fatigue they were to suffer during the rest of our journey; for though we could not perform it in less than twenty-four hours, we were obliged to travel so long without repose, there being no water in that part of the desert.

We left Carieteen on the 13th, at ten in the morning, which was much too late; but our company became more difficult to govern in proportion as they became more numerous. This bad conduct occasioned our being exposed to the heat of two days, before our beasts could obtain either rest or water; and though it was early in the season, the sand reflected the heat of the sun with great violence, while we had neither the slightest breeze to refresh us, nor the least shade to shelter us from its beams.

Our company was now much increased, by its being joined by some morchants, so that it consisted of about two hundred persons, and nearly the same number of different beasts of burthen, which formed a grotesque mixture. Our guide told us we were now in the most dangerous part of our journey, and desired us to submit entirely to his orders, which were, that the domestics should keep with the baggage, immediately behind our guard of Arabs, from which was frequently dispatched one, two, or more horsemen on the discovery, to all the eminences before us, where they stayed till we came up with them. These horsemen always quitted the caravan on a full gallop, after the manner of the Tartars and Hussars. It is hard to say, whether this precaution

arose from a real apprehension of danger, or whether it did not proceed from an ostentatious shew of vigilance, to make us conceive a high opinion of their activity and use.

The road here, from Carieteen to Palmyra, was north and by east, through a level sandy plain, about ten miles broad, bounded to the right and left by a chain of barren mountains, that seem to join within two miles of Palmyra. In all this course there is neither a tree nor a drop of water; but, to take off our attention from the fatigue we endured, our Arab horsemen diverted us from time to time by engaging in mock fights. It is surprising to see with what firmness they keep their saddles, and the dexterity with which they manage their horses. At night they usually sat in a circle, to drink coffee and smoak a pipe: this was their greatest regale. In the mean while, one of the company diverted the rest by singing a song, or relating a piece of history, on the subject of love or war, or with an extempore tale.

When we had proceeded nine hours from Carieteen, we arrived at a ruined tower, on which we observed the cross of Malta in two or three places. Near this tower are the ruins of a superb building; but a magnificent door-case of white marble, is the only part that remains standing, which is not covered with sand. At midnight we stopt two hours to take some repose, and on the 14th, at noon, arrived at the end of the plain, where the mountains, to the right and left, appear to meet. Between these mountains is a valley, where are still seen the ruins of an aqueduct that formerly conveyed water to Palmyra.

On each side of this valley are many square towers of a considerable height; and, on approaching them, we found they were the ancient sepulchres of the inhabitants of Palmyra. Scarcely had we passed these venerable monuments, when, the mountains opening on each side, we suddenly discovered the greatest quantity of ruins, all of white marble, we had ever seen: and be-



Taylor sc.

Ruins of the Great Temple of the Sun in Palmyra.

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hind those ruins, towards the Euphrates, a level country, extending as far as the eye could reach, without the least animated object. It is almost impossible to imagine any thing more astonishing than this view. No prospect can be conceived more striking and romantic, than such a vast multitude of Corinthian columns, with few intervening walls and solid buildings.

But to be more particular: on the left hand you behold a wall, which belonged to the court of the temple of the sun, and though part is broken down, it is still of a considerable length. A row of twelve noble windows appear in continuity; and farther to the left are two others. Between each is a pilaster, of the Corinthian order, supporting the entablature. Through the space that is broken down, the view is terminated by distant rows of columns, and over the part of the wall, which is still standing, rise the ruins of the temple itself. At the end, where stood the portico, is a square ruinous tower, built by the Turks. Before these buildings are inclosures of corn and olive-trees, planted by the Arabs, and separated by mud walls; while, on all sides, lie around them magnificent ruins.

Before the Turkish tower is a piece of a very large column, standing on its base; but the greatest part, with its capital and entablature, has fallen down. The stones that are round it shew that there was a grand edifice in this place. The diameter of this column, near the base, is five feet and a half. A little to the right of the tower, though a greater distance, are the ruins of a Turkish mosque with its minaret: and before it is a grand column, that rises to a great height, and is of the same dimensions with that which is broken down. A little farther to the right is a noble arch, with a postern, richly ornamented, on each side, from which a colonade extends four thousand feet in length, terminated by a superb mausoleum. Many of these columns are fallen down, and open a view to the other

ruins, while in other parts the remains of magnificer structures are seen through the intercolumniation At some distance nearer, before this magnificent colo nade, stands a small temple, adorned with a nob portico; and still farther to the right is another tem ple, with its peristyle, seen through the intercolum niation. Still farther to the right is a range of co lumns that appear to have belonged to a portico. A some distance nearer seem to be the ruins of a Chri tian church, and still nearer, and farther to the righ are four lofty columns with their superb entablatur the only remains of some grand edifice. A little to th right of these, though at a greater distance, are number of columns which still support a consider ble part of their entablature, and are so disposed that they resemble the peristyle of a small templ that has been wholly destroyed; and nearer still, ar more to the right, is an elegant mausoleum.

Besides these, we see a vast number of scattere columns covering the plain, some with, and some with out, their entablatures, while the ground is on a sides strewed with broken columns, capitals, rich en tablatures, and stones of prodigious magnitude. To wards the right the distant prospect is terminated by range of hills and mountains, one of which are th ruins of a Turkish fortification, and on another is castle.

These were the amazing ruins which suddenly struc our sight, and appeared at one view in the distan prospect. After having considered them for som time, we were conducted to a hut belonging to th Arabs, of which there are about thirty in the cour of the great temple. The magnificence of that ed fice, and the meanness of our habitation, formed contrast without a parallel.

The inhabitants both men and women, are we shaped; the complexions of the latter are swarthy but their features good: they were veiled, but the were not so scrupulous about shewing their faces, a

the women of the east generally are. They hang rings of either gold or brass in their ears and noses; they colour their lips blue, their eyes and eye-brows black, and the tips of their fingers red. Both sexes appear to be very healthy, being almost strangers to diseases. It seldom rains there, except at the time of the equinoxes, and we enjoyed a serene sky all the while we staid, except one afternoon, when we had a little shower, preceded by a whirlwind, which raised such a quantity of sand as entirely darkened the air, and gave us an idea of the terrible storms that are sometimes fatal to whole caravans. We continued there fifteen days, during which the Arab inhabitants supplied us pretty well with mutton and goats' flesh; but had we staid much longer, we should have exhausted their flock.

As we found it would be troublesome to carry a quadrant so far by land, this prevented our taking the latitude of the city; but, according to Ptolemy it is in 34 deg. latitude, and is six days' journey from Aleppo, as many from Damascus, by the safest road, and about twenty leagues to the east of the Euphrates. Some geographers place it in Syria, others in Arabia, and others in Phœnicia. The city walls were flanked with square towers, but in many parts they are entirely levelled, and cannot now be distinguished from the other ruins; particularly none of them can be perceived to the south-east, however, from what we discovered, there is great reason to believe that they inclosed the great temple; and, therefore, must have been at least three miles in compass.

The Arabs shewed us, by the present ruins, a tract of land that may be about ten miles in circumference, and is a little raised above the level of the desert, observing, that this was the extent of the ancient city, and that ruins were discovered there by digging. Indeed, there seems better reasons in favour of this opinion, than their authority. A circuit of three miles was very little for Palmyra in its prosperity;

especially, if we consider that the greatest part of that space is filled by public edifices, which, from their extraordinary magnificence, and the great number of superb sepulchres, are evident proofs of the grandeur of the city. From thence it may be concluded, that the walls already mentioned, inclosed only that part of the city, which contained the public edifices in its most flourishing state; and that after it was ruined, its situation rendering it the most proper place for putting a stop to the incursions of the Saracens, Justinian fortified it, as we learn from Procopius, and very probably contracted its bounds. Palmyra was not then, as it formerly had been, a rich and trading city, in which it was necessary to have a regard to the interest and convenience of individuals; but a frontier town, that only required strength. Besides, in building the wall to the north-west, advantage was taken of two or three sepulchres, which being of a convenient form, they converted them into towers; and as there is no doubt that the wall was built after the sepulchres, it may justly be concluded that they were erected since the abolition of the pagan religion, the Greeks and Romans having too great a veneration for their sepulchres to apply them to any other use; and it was contrary to the most express laws of both, to bury the dead within the walls of a city.

It has been observed, that on the top of one of the highest of these mountains is a castle. The ascent to it is extremely difficult and rugged. It is surrounded by a deep ditch, cut in the rock; or rather they have taken the stones from it as from a quarry. As the draw-bridge is broken, we found a good deal of difficulty in passing it. This castle is, however, so ill built, that it is evident it was erected not only after the time of Justinian, to whom it is attributed, but it is even unworthy of the Mamalukes. This mountain affords an extensive view to the south, where the desert resembles a sea; and to the west

we may see the top of Libanus, and distinctly perceive several parts of Anti-Libanus.

The barren tract in which the city stands, might be made a delightful spot, by means of two rivers, that are entirely neglected. The water of both is hot, and mixed with sulphur; but the inhabitants esteem it salubrious and agreeable. The most considerable of these streams rises to the west, at the foot of the mountains, in a fine grotto, almost high enough in the middle for a man to stand upright in it. The whole bottom is a bason of clear water, about two feet deep; and the heat being thus concentrated, renders it an excellent bath, for which purpose it is used by the Arabs: from it runs a pretty rapid current, above three feet broad and one foot deep. This water is for some space confined within a paved channel formerly made for it; but after a short course, it is imbibed by the sand to the east of the ruins. An inscription upon an altar near it, dedicated to Jupiter, informs us, that it was called Ephea; and that the care of it was intrusted to persons elected to that office.

The other stream, the source of which we could not discover, contains near the same quantity of water, and after running for some time through the ruins, in an ancient subterranean aqueduct, joins the first, and is lost with it in the sands. The Arabs speak of a third stream that has been for some time lost among the ruins. Some have been much embarrassed to account for the loss of a river mentioned by Ptolemy, and therefore attribute it to an earthquake: however, with respect to those of Palmyra, no other change seems to have happened, than what is the effect of negligence; but if these currents are thought too inconsiderable to deserve the name of rivers, that honour should for the same reason be refused to the Bactolus, the Meles, and many other rivers of Greece, that have not so much water, except immediately after rain.

Besides these was the subterranean aqueduct before mentioned, which brought good water to the city, and was solidly built, with openings at proper distances, to keep it clean. Procopius observes, that Justinian conveyed water to Palmyra, for the use of the garrison he left there: but we imagine, that for this purpose he repaired the aqueduct, which appears to have been much more ancient, and built at an immense expence. Palmyra, in its prosperity, certainly could not fail to procure such a convenience; and, indeed, in more than one part of this aqueduct, we have observed inscriptions in Palmyrene characters, which are now not legible; but we have found none in any other language.

Three or four miles to the south-east of the ruins in the desert, is the Valley of Salt, where David probably smote the Syrians, 2 Sam. viii. 13, and which still supplies Damascus and the neighbouring towns with great quantities of that commodity, the earth being impregnated with it to a considerable depth. They hollow the ground upwards of a foot deep, and from the rain-water, which lodges in these cavities, rises a fine white salt, that is gathered after the water is dried up, or exhaulted by the sun.

These noble remains of Palmyra are too striking and magnificent not to excite our curiosity, with respect to its condition in ancient times. It is natural to enquire, how a spot like this, divided from the rest of the world by an inhospitable desert, came to be chosen for its situation; who was its founder, and from what quarter it drew the riches necessary to its support? But it is remarkable, that history scarcely makes any mention of Balbec and Palmyra, and we have little knowledge of them but what is supplied by inscriptions. Is not even this silence of history instructive? Does it not inform us, that there are periods in history that are entirely concealed from us?

By the natural and ordinary course, the memory of

cities is preserved longer than their ruins. It is only from history that we have any knowledge of Troy, Babylon, and Memphis: there does not at present remain a single stone of these cities, to shew where they were situated: but here are two examples of considerable cities that have subsisted longer than any other known to us; and yet it is rather what we see, than what we read, that excites our curiosity concerning them; and the remains of Balbec and Palmyra still subsist, to relate, if we may use the expression, their own history. Can the loss of books be the cause, or did the ancients set less value on these edifices, than we do at present? If this last be the case, their silence, with respect to Balbec, will justify what they advance about Babylon; and their not mentioning Palmyra be a kind of proof of the magnificence of Greece and Egypt, on which they have bestowed such encomiums.

All the authorities of the ancients, with respect to this city, may be reduced to these. In the Arabic translation of the second book of Chronicles, chap. viii. Palmyra is mentioned as subsisting before the time of Solomon: but John of Antioch says, that it was built by that monarch on the very spot where David slew the Philistine chief. But the Arabian histories, on this subject, appear so extremely fabulous and extravagant as to be unworthy of notice.

The Old Testament informs us,* that Solomon erected a city in the wilderness, and called it Tedmor; and we are told by Josephus, that the Greeks and Romans afterwards gave it the name of Palmyra; but that its first name was retained by the Syrians; and this is confirmed by St Jerom, who says that Tedmor and Palmyra are the Syrian and Greek names of the same place: even at present, the Arabs of the country still call it Tedmor. They pretend that these ruins were the work of Solomon, and among other things, shew the seraglio of that king, his haram,

* 1 Kings ix, and 2 Chron. viii.

and the tomb of one of his favourite concubines. "Solomon, the son of David, say they, performed these wonders by the assistance of spirits."

But the structures erected by Solomon were doubtless entirely demolished by Nebuchadnezzar, who, we are assured by John of Antioch, destroyed that city before he besieged Jerusalem. It cannot be reasonably supposed, that edifices in the elegant style of those of Palmyra were prior to the establishment of the Greeks in Syria; and taking this for granted, we shall not be surprised that Xenophon takes no notice of this city in his retreat of Cyrus the Younger, though he is very exact in describing the desert: nor shall we wonder at its not being mentioned in the history of Alexander the Great, who might have reaped great advantages from the situation of that city, when he crossed this desert. No mention is made of it even when Pompey reduced Syria to a Roman province; though at that time a taste for the polite arts began to prevail, and architecture, painting, and sculpture, were esteemed not unworthy of the attention of a Roman general. One would have imagined that Palmyra would not have escaped the avidity and avarice of the Romans; and yet we do not find that their history makes any mention of that city before the time of Mark Antony, who would have plundered it, had not the inhabitants secured themselves by transporting their most valuable effects beyond the Euphrates, and defended the passage of that river by their archers. At that time the inhabitants of Palmyra were merchants, and sold to the Romans the merchandises of India and Arabia. We may conclude, that they were a rich and free people; but how long they had enjoyed these advantages is uncertain. Their riches and trade were probably of some standing; for it appears from inscriptions, that in less than forty years after, their expences and their luxuries were excessive.

At length, when the affairs of the Romans in the

east were in a deplorable situation, Odenathus of Palmyra took such advantage of the situation of his country between the two great rival empires of Rome and Persia, that he rendered himself master of the balance of power, and declared for the one or the other, according as the face of affairs changed, and his interest required. He entered into an alliance with the Emperor Gallienus, collected the poor remains of the Roman army, and by his valour, activity, and remarkable patience in enduring fatigue, vanquished Sapor, king of Persia, in several engagements, advancing with his victorious troops as far as Ctesiphon, the capital of his empire. On his return from this expedition, with the greatest applause, and with considerable treasures, Gallienus declared him Augustus, and his associate in the government of the empire. Odenathus afterwards defeated Balista, who aspired to the empire, and at length drove out the Goths, who had committed the greatest ravages. This was his last exploit, and it is thought, that in this expedition he was treacherously murdered by his kinsman Mæonius; and his son Herodes soon after suffered the same fate. Mæonius was then saluted emperor, but in a short time after was cut to pieces by his own soldiers.

Odenathus left behind him his wife, Queen Zenobia, and two sons he had by her; she boasted her being descended from Ptolemy, and reckoned Cleopatra among her ancestors. Zenobia had many great and amiable qualities. After the death of Odenathus, she assumed the reins of government in the name of her children, and renouncing the alliance with Rome, attacked and entirely defeated Heraclianus, the Roman general. This victory left her in possesion of Syria and Mesopotamia. She then, by means of Zabdas, one of her generals, conquered Egypt, and afterwards added to her dominions the greatest part of Asia Minor. How strange, how unaccountable are the vicissitudes of fortune! A small territory in the

midst of a desert extends its conquests over many rich countries! The powerful kingdoms of the Ptolemies, and the Seleucidæ, form a part of the dominions of a single city, whose name is sought for in vain in their history; and Zenobia, surrounded by the barren sands of Palmyra, includes Egypt within her dominions to the south, and extends them to the north as far as the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. But the reign of this empire was of very short continuance; the emperor Aurelian, a few years after, recovered the eastern provinces, and forced Zenobia to shelter herself within the walls of Palmyra. He laid siege to that city, the queen rejected all negociations with contempt; but after a brave defence, she resolved in person, to solicit the assistance of the Persians: she set out on a dromedary; but was taken prisoner as she was about to cross the Euphrates, by a party of horse sent after her by Aurelian. The inhabitants of Palmyra now surrendered to the emperor's mercy; on which he spared their lives, and marched to Emissa with Zenobia, carrying with him a great part of the riches of the city, and leaving there a garrison of six hundred archers.

At Emissa the emperor enquired into Zenobia's motives for resisting him with such resolution, and upon this occasion she stained her glory, by purchasing a dishonourable life at the expence of her friends, whom she meanly betrayed; she mentioned those who had been her advisers; on which Aurelian had the cruelty and injustice to sacrifice them to his resentment, while she was reserved to adorn his triumph. Among those who suffered was Longinus, the illustrious author of the book upon the Sublime; who had dictated a haughty letter his mistress had sent to the emperor; but the intrepid courage with which he submitted to his fate, shews that his bravery was equal to his learning.

The misfortunes of Palmyra were not yet ended; when a free people are, from the height of glory,

suddenly reduced to slavery, they generally take some desperate measures for their deliverance. The Palmyrenes cut off the Roman garrison, and Aurelian hearing this news as he was returning to Rome, speedily turned back, and taking the city destroyed it, causing almost all the inhabitants to be massacred, without regard to age or sex. We are informed of the particulars of this cruelty by the emperor himself, who, in a letter he wrote to Bassus, to order him to repair the temple of the sun, which had been much damaged by the soldiers, appropriates to that use three hundred pounds weight of gold found in Zenobia's coffers, with one thousand eight hundred pounds weight of silver, which belonged to the people, besides the crown jewels.

Palmyra having thus lost its liberty, continued subject to a Roman governor; and from the only Latin inscription now found there, we are informed that Hierocles was for the fifth time president of the province, when Dioclesian erected some magnificent buildings there. In the year of Christ 400, the first Illyrian legion was quartered at Palmyra; but Procopius gives us reason to think, that the city was so little regarded as to be sometimes without a Roman garrison; for he says that Justinian repaired and supplied it with water, after its having been for some time almost deserted. This is the last time that Palmyra is mentioned in the Roman history. The civil revolutions of this city afford a proof that Christianity could not be long established there, so that it is not surprising that ecclesiastical history furnishes nothing worth the pains of repeating; and there is no means of knowing what has happened to it, since the destruction of the eastern empire by the Mahometans.

Among the several inscriptions found there, none are more ancient than the birth of Christ, and none so late as the destruction of the city by Aurelian, except the Latin inscription which makes mention of

Dioclesian. The era of these inscriptions is that of the Seleuciæ. Some of them are found in the Palmyrene, and others in Greek characters. Two of the mausolea, which are almost entire, have on their fronts inscriptions that are very legible; one of them informs us that Jamblicus, the son of Mocimus, caused that monument to be built, to serve as a sepulchre for him and his family, in the year 314, which answers to the third year of the Christian era; and the other, that Elabelus Manaius caused it to be erected in the year 414, the 103d year of the Christian era. The ornaments of these two mausoleums are much in the same taste; but the last is the most elegant, and finished with the greatest care: though both are so much in the taste and manner of the other public edifices in general, that we may reasonably suppose them not to be the works of very different ages.

Before we had completed our business at Palmyra, our Arabian escort began to grow impatient, and to solicit our departure; alleging that our safety in returning was much more precarious than in our journey thither, as they had then only accidental dangers to apprehend, while they were now provide against a premeditated surprise from the king of the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs, who, on his having intelligence of us, might think us a prize worth looking after. We had likewise our own reasons for more than ordinary solicitude; for we were much more anxious about preserving the treasure we brought from Palmyra, than that which we carrried thither. By their advice we concealed both our intended road back, and the time we intended to set out, and on the 27th of March left Palmyra; where its few miserable inhabitants expressed the utmost astonishment at a visit, the reason of which they could not comprehend.

We returned as far as Sudud, by the same tiresome road, through the desert, which we have already de-

scribed, in our journey to Palmyra. But before we arrived at Carieteen, we discovered, at a distance, a party of Arabian horsemen, to which, had they been superior in number, we must have fallen an easy prey, in the languid state to which both our men and horses were reduced, after a march of about twenty-four hours over the burning sands; but, on our nearer approach, they retired with precipitation, abandoning some cattle, which were seized by our friends, as a matter of course, laughing at our remonstrances against their injustice.

Being arrived at Sudud, we left our former road on the right hand, and in five hours more, proceeding still through the same desert, reached Cara, where we took leave of the greatest part of our caravan. The manuscripts and marbles we had collected, we sent on camels to our ship at Tripoly; the merchants who had joined us for protection returned to Damascus with the salt they went to gather at Palmyra; and our Arabian horsemen, who were now no longer of use, having demanded a certificate of their fidelity and vigilance, which they justly deserved, returned to their master, the Aga of Hassia.

We had passed through Cara before, in going from Damascus to Hassia; from the last it is about six hours distant, and is under the government of the same aga. This village is pleasantly situated in the great caravan road from Damascus to Aleppo, and, we are informed, contains near a thousand souls; amongst whom are about twenty Christian families. There is one ruined church to be seen there, and another converted into a mosque: upon the wall of the latter is a line of Greek capitals in a bad character, turned upside down, in which we could read the words Athanasios Episcopos. The common mud formed into the shape of bricks, and dried in the sun, of which the houses are built, has, at some distance, the appearance of white stone. The short duration of such materials, is not the only objection to them,

for they render the streets dusty when there is wind, and dirty when there is rain: inconveniences that are also felt at Damascus itself, which is mostly built in the same manner.

After suffering almost a month's constant fatigue in the desert, particularly at Palmyra, where every hour was precious, we here indulged ourselves with a day of rest, and by this short interval of security and repose, prepared ourselves for new fatigues.

We then set out, and arrived at Ersale in seven hours, proceeding the greatest part of the way across the barren ridge of hills, called Anti-Libanus. This village, which consists of thirty poor houses, was the only one we passed through in our way from Cara to Balbec. We found nothing there worth notice, except a melancholy instance of the unhappy government of these countries: the houses were all open, every thing carried off, and not a living creature to be seen. We were informed that the governor of Balbec's brother was then in open rebellion, ravaging the country with a party of his desperate followers; and it seems that when we passed through Ersale, he was encamped in its neighbourhood, on which the inhabitants chose to abandon their dwelling, rather than expose themselves to such unmerciful contributions as he had raised in other places.

Impatient to leave a place of such danger, we set out early the next morning, and in five hours and a half arrived at Balbec. This city, which was formerly under the government of Damascus, and some years since the residence of a bassa, is at present commanded by a person of no higher rank than that of an aga, who, preferring the more honourable title of emir, which he had by his birth, to that of his station, was called emir Hassein: for the Arabs have hereditary nobility and family connections, contrary to the policy of the Porte, which is desirous of suppressing all influence that the grand seignior cannot give and take away at pleasure.

This governor annually paid the grand seignior fifty purses for the taxes of the district under his command; he also paid fifty purses yearly for lands, granted as rewards for military service, and farmed by him. Those lands, we were told, were much more profitable to him, than to the persons for whose benefit the grant was originally intended, on account of the difficulty and danger of any man's pretending to the same farm against so powerful a competitor. He ought also to have paid something to the bassa of Damascus, for lands he held under him; but he had for some time evaded it, being screened by the kislar aga, or the black eunuch, who has the care of the grand seignior's women, to whom he was said to be under private contribution.

We took our lodgings of a Greek, to whom we were recommended, and then waited on the emir, whom we found in a chiosque in his garden, reclined on a sofa near a fountain, and indolently enjoying his pipe. On our presenting him with our firman from the grand seignior, and a letter from the bassa of Tripoly, we were most courteously received. A pipe, coffee, sweetmeats, and perfume, were, according to custom, successively presented. He applied the firman respectfully to his forehead, then kissed it, and declared himself the sultan's slave's slave: told us that the land he commanded, and all in it was ours; that we were his welcome guests as long as we would stay, and under his friendly protection might securely pursue our business.

In no instance do the oriental manners shew these people in so amiable a light, as in their discharge of the duties of hospitality; the severities of eastern despotism have indeed been always softened by this virtue, which so happily flourishes most where it is most wanted. The great forget the insolence of power to the stranger under their roof, and only preserve a dignity so tempered by humanity, that it solely commands that grateful respect, which is other-

wise scarcely known in a country where inferiors are oftener taught to fear than to love.

Notwithstanding the emir's obliging professions, we had been advised to distrust him; for he had an infamous character, and we had soon reason to see the justice of this friendly caution. Though, according to the custom of the country, we had sent our presents, yet new demands were daily made, which we for some time thought it advisable to satisfy: but they were so frequently, and at length so insolently repeated, that we were obliged to give a peremptory refusal.

Avarice is as much an eastern vice, as hospitality is an eastern virtue. The most sordid instances of the former we found among the great, and those in public employments, while we experienced extraordinary instances of generosity in private life. We would therefore be cautious of charging to the character of a people, what the government seems to require; for amidst the uninterrupted series of shameless venality which regulates the discharge of every public duty from the prime vizier downwards, and which, in the true spirit of despotism, stops only at the wretch who is too low to make reprisals, every subaltern in power must submit to that portion of the common prostitution which belongs to his rank, and which therefore seems rather the vice of the office than the man.

The valley of Bocat, in which Balbec is situated might be rendered one of the richest and most beautiful spots in Syria; for it is more fertile than the celebrated vale of Damascus, and better watered than the rich plains of Esdraelon and Rama. In its present neglected state it produces corn, and some good grapes; but though shade is an essential article of oriental luxury, it has but few plantations of trees the inhabitants being discouraged from labours, which promise such distant and precarious enjoyment, in

country where even the fruits of their industry are uncertain.

The plain extends in length from Balbec almost to the sea, and its breadth from Libanus to Anti-Libanus, appears to be in few places less than two leagues, or more than four. The rivers by which it is watered are the Litane and the Bardouni: the first rises from Anti-Libanus, a little to the north of Balbec, and receives great increase from a fine spring close by the city walls; the last rises from the foot of Libanus, and joins the Letane in the plain, about an hour from a village called Barillas. These streams, augmented by several constant rills from the melting snows of Libanus, which the least management might improve to all the purposes either of agriculture or pleasure, form the Casimiah, and under that name enter the sea near Tyre.

Balbec is pleasantly situated upon a rising ground, near the north-east extremity of this plain, between Tripoly of Syria and Damascus, and about sixteen hours distant from each. We may with certainty conclude, that this was the Heliopolis of Cœlosyria, sometimes called the Heliopolis of Phœnicia. It has now about five thousand inhabitants, a few of which are Greek and Maronite Christians, and there are some Jews; but they are all poor, without trade or manufactures. The ancient female beauty and profligacy of the women in this neighbourhood seem to have declined together, and the modern ladies of Balbec have the character of being more chaste and less fair.

When we compare the ruins of Balbec with those of many ancient cities we have visited Greece, Egypt, and other parts of Asia, we cannot help thinking them the remains of the boldest plan that appears to have been ever attempted in architecture.

In taking a view of this city from the south, we see the present town encompassed with its wall, and at the east end the most considerable ruins of the an-

cient Heliopolis, particularly the remains of its magnificent temple, which are mostly surrounded by a Turkish fortification.

The portico which formed the grand front of the temple is so noble, that no ornaments seem wanting to render it complete; but it is disfigured by two Turkish towers built on its ruins. Behind it a hexagonal court, into which the portico leads, is adorned with the most magnificent buildings, now in ruins; but enough is still left to give an idea of their ancient grandeur. The walls are adorned with pilasters of the Corinthian order, with statues for niches; the doors are finely ornamented, and the entablature, which surrounds the building above the pilasters, is richly adorned with festoons; but the colonade which surrounded these edifices is destroyed, scarcely anything remaining but the pedestals; and the whole court is covered with broken columns, capitals, and other parts of the buildings.

This leads into a quadrangular court, in which are likewise remains of magnificent edifices much in the same taste. The portico was crowned with an attic course, which was also carried through the two courts, and seems to have been ornamented with statues.

We now come to the great temple, the approach to which was through the foregoing portico and courts. Little more of this edifice remains than nine lofty columns, supporting their entablature. It is remarkable, that the shafts of these columns consist of three pieces most exactly joined together without cement, which is used in no part of these buildings; they being only strengthened with iron pins received into a socket worked in each stone. Most of the bases have two such sockets, one square and another circular, corresponding to two others, of the same shape and dimensions, in the under part of the shaft. On measuring some of the largest of those that were circular, it was found that the iron pin which they received must have been a foot long, and above a foot in dia-

meter. By the sockets in all the fallen fragments of this temple, it appears that each stone had probably been fastened in this manner. How much this method contributed to the strength of the building is remarkably seen in the most entire temple, where a column has fallen against the wall of the cell with such violence, as to beat in the stone it fell against, and break part of the shaft, while the joinings of the same shaft have not been in the least opened by the shock.

The temple which is most perfect, is irregularly placed with respect to the former, and is also built upon a much lower horizontal plan. It was a peristyle of eight columns in front, and fifteen in flank, which still continue to support their entablature, notwithstanding several unsuccessful attempts of the Turks to destroy them, in order to get at the iron employed in strengthening this noble building. The arch of the portico is divided into compartments by the richest mouldings and carved work, cut in the solid stone. These compartments are in an alternate succession of one hexagon and four rhomboids, inclosing figures and heads in alto relievo. The rhomboid pannels contain heads of gods, heroes, and emperors; the hexagons also contain the heads of the same subjects, and sometimes entire figures relating to the ancient mythology, as Leda and the swan, Ganymede riding on the back of an eagle, a half length of Diana, &c. On the inside of this temple a row of fluted Corinthian columns reach to the top of the building, supporting a rich entablature. Between each column is a niche finely ornamented, and above each niche a tabernacle or opening answering to it, supported by small columns. The roof is fallen down, and out of the ruins of the entablature grow many shrubs.

At some distance to the west of these superb remains of antiquity, is a magnificent circular temple. The order of this structure without is Corinthian, and within both Corinthian and Ionic: but the shafts of

all the columns are of one piece. The lower or Ionic story is converted into a Greek church, and for that purpose is separated from the higher or Corinthian story. Turkish houses and other modern additions erected against it, destroy its symmetry.

On the south-west part of the city, where the walls inclose a small part of the foot of Anti-Libanus, is a single Doric column, of considerable height; but nothing in its size, proportions, or workmanship, is so remarkable as a little bason on the top of its capital, which has a communication with a semicircular channel cut longitudinally down the side of the shaft, and five or six inches deep. It is said that water was formerly conveyed from t e bason by this channel; but how the bason was supplied, our author could not learn.

The small part of the city at present inhabited is near the circular temple, and to the south and south-west of it. In this compass there are several minarets, or Turkish steeples. Instead of bells, which are not used in Turkey, a person is employed to call the people to prayers, from the balcony near the top of the minaret, at the five stated times appointed every twenty-four hours for divine worship.

The city walls, like those of most of the other ancient cities of Asia, seem the confused patchwork of different ages. The pieces of capitals, broken entablatures, and in some places reversed Greek inscriptions, to be seen in surveying them, shew that their last repairs were made after the decline of taste, with such materials as lay nearest at hand. The city gates in general correspond with what has been said of the walls; but that on the north side presents the ruins of a large subassement, with pedestals and bases for four columns, in a taste of magnificence and antiquity much superior to that of other gates.

Near the city walls is a quarry of free-stone, from which probably the immense stones employed in the subassement of the great temple were taken, while

from a quarry of coarse white marble west of the city, and at a greater distance. In the first quarry there are still remaining some vast stones cut and shaped for use. One of these stones, thus shaped, but not entirely detached from the quarry at the bottom, we found to be seventy feet long, fourteen broad, and fourteen feet five inches deep. This stone, according to these dimensions, contains fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty-eight cubic feet, and, were it Portland stone, should weigh about two million two hundred and seventy thousand pounds avoirdupoise, or about one thousand one hundred and thirty-five tons.

The inhabitants of this country, both Mahometans, Jews, and Christians, all confidently believe that Solomon built both Palmyra and Balbec. Indeed, the ruins of both answer our ideas of his power and riches, and it is not difficult to discover his wisdom in the former, and his love of pleasure in the latter. It is probable that his character, as a wise and yet voluptuous prince, may have given rise to an opinion, which, with respect to Balbec at least, seems to have scarcely any other foundation; for any eastern monarch could not enjoy his favorite pleasures in a more luxurious retirement, than amidst the streams and shades of Balbec. Many stories are there told of the manner in which he spent his hours of dalliance in this retreat; a subject on which the warm imagination of the Arabs is apt to be too particular.

Whether the Phœnicians did not erect these temples in the neighbourhood of their capital, may be a more reasonable enquiry: for it is pretty certain, that the sun was worshipped here in the flourishing times of that people, when this plain was probably a part of their territory.

According to Macrobius, the city derived both its name and worship from Heliopolis in Egypt; and he observes, that the statue of Heliopolitan Jove was was brought from thence to this city. "This divini-

ty, he observes, was both Jupiter and the Sun. This he adds, appears by the rites of the worship, and by the attributes of the statue, which is of gold, representing a person without a beard, who holds in his right hand a whip, like a charioteer, and in his left thunderbolt, together with ears of corn, all which mark the united powers of Jupiter and Apollo; and the temple excels in divination."

But instead of looking for buildings of the Corinthian and Ionic order in the Jewish and Phœnician history, it may be thought more proper to enquire for them during the time when the Greeks possessed this country: but from Alexander's conquest of it to that of Pompey, we do not find them mentioned; for which reason we conclude, that they must be work of a later date; and indeed, John of Antioch, surnamed Malala, says that Ælius Antoninus Pius built a temple to Jupiter, at Heliopolis, near Libanus, in Phœnicia, which was one of the wonders of the world. This is the only historian who mentions the building of a temple in this city.

It is certain that the structure of the temples of Palmyra and Balbec differs in some particulars from that of all others we have seen, and we imagined we could discover in many of the deviations from the true object of worship, something in the climate, soil, or situation of each country, which had a considerable influence in establishing its particular mode of superstition.

If this observation be applied to the country and religion of Syria, and we examine the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, called in Scripture Baal, Astaroth, and the host of heaven, we shall perhaps not only see how that early superstition, which misled the inhabitants of a level country, was naturally produced; but we may observe something of its origin and progress resulting from a connection between those objects of worship considered physically, and

their characters as divinities. Thus the magnificence, with which the sun was worshipped in Syria and Chaldea, the name of Baal, which in the eastern language signifies Lord, and the human victims sacrificed to his honour, seem to point out an awful reverence paid rather to his power than his benignity, in a country where the violence of his heat is not only in many respects troublesome to the inhabitants, but destructive to vegetation. On the other hand, the deification of the inferior gods of the firmament seems to have taken its rise from different principles, in which love appears to have been more predominant than fear.

The extensive plains and unclouded sky not only point this out; but it appears that the inhabitants' way of life, which is as uniform as their soil or their climate, has contributed to direct their attention to these heavenly bodies. It was always a custom with them to pass the summer nights on the tops of their houses, which for this purpose were made flat, and divided from each other by walls. This way of sleeping we found extremely agreeable, as we by that means enjoyed the cool air above the reach of gnats and vapours, with no other covering but the canopy of heaven, which in different pleasing forms unavoidably presents itself, upon every interruption of rest, when the mind is strongly disposed to contemplation by solitude and silence.

We could no where discover more beauties in the face of the heavens, nor fewer on the earth, than in our travels in the night through the deserts of Arabia, where it is impossible to avoid being struck with the contrast, in which a boundless dreary waste, without mountain or valley, tree or water, or the least variety of colours, offers a tedious sameness to the weary traveller, while he is agreeably relieved by beholding that cheerful moving picture which measures his time, directs his course, and lights his way. The warm fancy of the Arab soon felt the transition from

wild admiration to superstitious respect, and the pas
sions were engaged before the judgment was consulted
Hence the Jews frequently caught the bewitchin
enthusiasm; and an ancient pious native of the coun
try seems to acknowledge the danger of contemplatin
such beauties, while he disowns his having yielded t
the temptation: "* If I beheld the sun when h
shined, or the moon walking in her brightness, an
my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mout
hath kissed my hand, this were an iniquity," &c.

Even Egypt had some objects of divine worshi
so peculiarly the growth of that country, that the
could never be transplanted. As superstition tra
velled from thence northward, she changed her garb
and from the picturesque mixture of the hills, vale
groves, and water, in Greece, arose the Orades, Dry
ades, and Naiades, with all the varieties of that fan
ciful mythyology, which none but such a poet a
Homer, in such a country as Greece, could hav
connected into that form which has ever since bee
adopted by the poets.

It has already been observed that we were oblige
to resist the exactions of the Emir; when he foun
all his art and villainy exhausted to cajole us, h
openly declared, that we should be attacked and cu
to pieces in our way from Balbec. However, findin
his menaces ineffectual, and that we were preparin
to set out with twenty armed servants, he once mor
affected civility, and desired that we might inter
change presents and part friends, requesting w
would accept his people as a guard as far as Mour
Libanus. To this we assented and soon after it ap
peared, that he was assassinated by an emissary c
his rebellious brother, who assumed the reins of go
vernment in his stead.

* Job xxxi. 26.

JOURNEY

OF

M. MAUPERTUIS,

AND THE

FRENCH ACADEMECIANS,

TO MEASURE A DEGREE OF LATITUDE

IN THE

ARCTIC CIRCLE.

M. Richer having noticed at Cayene, in 1672, that gravity in that island near the equator was less than in France, the learned turned their eyes towards the consequences that might result from this famous discovery. One of the most illustrious members of the academy maintained, that it proved as well as the revolution of the earth on its axis, (which did not require to be proved) as the flatness of it towards the poles, which was a paradox. M. Huygens applying the theory of centrifugal force, of which he was the author, to the parts which constitute the earth, demonstrated that taking these parts as gravitating uniformly towards a centre, and making their revolution round an axis, it must necessarily follow to support an equilibrium, that they form a spheriod flatened towards the poles. Mr. Huygens even determined the proportion of flatness, and this by the ordinary principle of gravity.

Newton was the partisan of a different theory, of the attraction of the particles of matter one towards the other; and came to the same conclusion that the

earth was flattened, although by his computation in a different proportion. In fact, when by the laws of statics we examine the figure of the earth, every theory leans to its being flat; and one cannot imagine a lengthened spheroid, unless by very forced hypotheses on gravity.

From the first establishment of the academy, one of its principal objects had been the measurement of a degree of the meridian of the earth: M. Picard had determined this degree towards Paris with such exactness, as left nothing farther to wish for in appearance. But this measure could be general only in case the earth were spherical; if the earth were flattened, it would be too long for the degrees towards the equator, and too short for those towards the poles.

When the measurement of the meridian which traverses France was finished, we were surprised to learn that the degrees towards the north were shorter than those towards the south; this was diametrically opposite to the effects which ought to follow if the earth were flat towards the poles; other experiments made on the parallel which traverses France, confirmed this extension, and these measurements had great weight.

Thus the academy was divided, the information it possessed caused it to doubt; when the king chose to have this great question decided, a question not like those vain speculations with which the idle amuse themselves, not a useless subtlety of philosophy, but a matter of real influence on astronomy and navigation.

In order to determine properly the figure of the earth, it was necessary to compare two degrees of the meridian as different in latitude as possible; because whether the degrees increase or diminish in length towards the pole, the slight difference between adjoining ones might be lost in the errors of observations; instead of which, if the two degrees compared were

at great distance one from the other, the difference being repeated as often as there are intermediate degrees, would make together a sum too considerable to escape the observers.

M. Le Compte de Mauripas, who is attached to the sciences, and who is desirous of rendering them serviceable to the state, found united in this undertaking, an advantage to navigation, and to the academy, and the prospect of its being of utility to the public, insured the attention of the Cardinal de Fleury, in the midst of war. The sciences found in him that protection, and assistance, which could scarcely be expected in time of the most profound peace. M. Le Compte de Mauripas quickly after sent to the academy the orders of his majesty, to have the question decided respecting the figure of the earth; the academy received them with joy, and hastened by several of its members to put them in execution; some were destined to the equator, to measure the first degree of the meridian, and set off a year before us, the others for the north to measure a degree as near to the pole as possible. The same zeal actuated those who went to expose themselves to the sun under the torrid zone, as them who were to experience the horrors of winter in the frozen regions; either had but one aim, that of rendering themselves useful to their country.

The party designed for the north was composed of four academicians, Messrs. Claurant, Camus, Le Monnier, and myself, and of Mr. L' Abbé Outhier, accompanied by M. Celsius, the celebrated professor of astronomy at Upsal, who assisted us in all our labours, and whose information and advice were very useful to us. Were it permitted me to speak of my other companions, of their firmness, and their talents, it would be visible, that however difficult the work we undertook, with their concurrence it must have been easy.

A long time has elapsed since we heard last from

those gone to the equator: little more of that expedition is known beside the trouble it has met with; and our experience has taught us to feel for those engaged in it; we have been more fortunate, and are returned to bring to the academy the fruits of our toil.

The vessel that bore us having arrived at Stockholm, we hastened to set out towards the bottom of the gulph of Bothnia, where we could chuse better than by trusting to chart, which of the two coasts of the gulph would be most suitable to our operations. The perils with which they threatened us at Stockholm did not deter us; nor the kindness of his majesty, who, in spite of the orders that he issued for us, ceased not from testifying his concern at seeing us depart on so dangerous an adventure.

We arrived at Torneo in time to see the sun shine without setting for several days; as is usual in those climates about the summer solstice; an admirable sight to an inhabitant of the temperate zones, notwithstanding his knowledge of such being the case at the polar circle.

It perhaps will not be useless here to give an idea of the work we had laid down, and the means we had to take in measuring a degree of the meridian.

Nobody is ignorant that as one advances towards the north, the stars placed towards the equator appear to sink; and on the contrary those situated towards the pole, to rise: it is very probable that the observance of this phenomenon afforded the first proof of the roundness of the earth. This difference in the meridian height of a star, which we perceive in tracing an arc of the meridian, I call the amplitude of that arc; it is this which is the measurement of its curve, or in other words, it is the number of minutes and seconds which it contains.

Were the earth entirely spherical, this difference of the height of a star, (this amplitude) would always be in proportion to the arc of the meridian

passed over. If in order to see a star change its elevation one degree, it might be necessary at Paris to pass over a space of 57,000 toises, the same distance should be gone over at Torneo, to find the same change in the height of the star.

If on the contrary, the surface of the earth was uniformly even, however great the distance passed over towards the north, the star would appear neither more nor less elevated.

If then the surface of the earth be unequally curved in different regions, to find the same difference of the elevation of a star, it will be necessary in those different regions, to pass over unequal arches of the meridian of the earth; and those arches whose amplitude is a degree, will be longer where the earth is more flattened. So that if the earth be flattened towards the poles, a degree of the terrestrial meridian will be longer towards the poles than at the equator, and hence the figure of the earth may be ascertained by comparing the different degrees one with the other.

By this will be seen, that to have the measure of a degree of the meridian of the earth, a distance on this meridian must be measured, and the change of the elevation of a star at the two extremities be known, in order to be able to compare the length of the arch, with its amplitude.

The first part of our work consisted then in measuring a considerable space upon the meridian, and for this purpose a succession of triangles was necessary, which might communicate with some base, whole length might be measured by the pole.

We had always entertained the hope of being able to make our observations upon the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia. The facility of crossing by sea to the different stations, of transporting the instruments in boats, the advantage of observations, that the islands of the gulf marked in such number upon the charts, seemed to hold out to us; all these had

pre-determined us in favour of the coast and isles. We proceeded with impatience to reconnoitre, but all our voyages for that purpose, served only to shew us the necessity of giving up our first intention. These islands which lay off the shores of the gulph, and the coast of the gulph itself, which we had represented to our fancy as promontories, visible at a great distance, and from which we might distinguish others equally distant; all these islands were level with the water, and consequently quickly hid by the roundness of the earth. They even concealed each other towards the border of the gulph, when they were too near; and where ranged along the coasts, they did not advance far enough into the sea, to afford us the direction we required. After repeated fruitless endeavours to obtain in these islands what they could not afford, we were obliged to give up all hope, and abandon them.

I travelled from Stockholm to Torneo in a coach with the rest of the company; but chance having thrown in our way, in the course of this long journey, the vessel which bore our instruments and servants, I went on board, and arrived at Torneo several days before the others. On landing I met with the governor of the province, who was going to visit Northern Lapland, (part of his government): I joined him in order to gather some idea of the country in the absence of my companions, and penetrated fifteen leagues towards the north. On the night of the solstice I ascended one of the highest mountains of this country, called Avasaxa; and returned in sufficient time to be at Torneo on their arrival. In this journey, which lasted but three days, I remarked that the river Torneo ran pretty closely in the direction of the meridian as far as I had gone: and noticed on all sides high mountains that afforded stations perceptible at great distances.

We thought then of beginning our operations to

the north of Torneo upon the summits of these mountains, but this appeared to us scarcely possible.

We had, in the deserts of a country hardly inhabitable, in the immense forest which extends from Torneo to the North Cape, to effect operations, difficult even in the most commodious countries. There were but two modes of getting forward in these deserts, to both of which we were obliged to have recourse; the one by navigating a river full of cataracts, the other by proceeding on foot through thick forests, or deep marshes, we had to scale rugged mountains, clear the summit of these mountains of the trees which there impeded the sights, live in these deserts upon the coarsest food, and exposed to flies so tormenting, that they oblige the Laplanders and their rein deer to abandon the country during this season, to seek, on the shores of the sea, a more tolerable residence.

To sum up all the work was to be undertaken without knowing, of being able to learn, whether it was practicable; without knowing, whether after so much pains, the want of one mountain might not absolutely stop the course of our triangles; and without knowing whether we should be able to find upon the river a base that could be united with our triangles. Should all these succeed, we had afterwards to construct observatories on the most northern of our mountains; a train of instruments more complete than are to be found in many of the observatories of Europe were to be transported there; and astronomical observations to be made the most minutely exact.

If on one hand these different articles were sufficient to alarm us; on the other the work had many attractions. Besides the difficulties we had to overcome, we had to measure a degree in all probability as far towards the north as is permitted man to measure, the degree which cuts the polar circle, and of which one part is in the frozen zone. After all, giv-

ing up the hope of being able to make use of the islands of the gulph, this was our last resource; for we could not satisfy ourselves by descending to the more southern provinces of Sweden.

We left Torneo on Friday sixth July, with a company of Finish soldiers, and a great number of boats laden with instruments, and the most indispensable necessaries of life; and began to ascend the great river, which proceeding, from the extremity of Lapland, empties itself into the Bothnick Sea, after dividing into two branches, which from the little island Swintzstar, on which the town is built in latitude 65° 51′. From that day we lived in the desarts and on the tops of mountains, which we were desirous of uniting by triangles. After having ascended the river from nine o'clock in the morning until nine at night, we arrived at Korpikyla, a hamlet on its banks, inhabited by Fins; we landed there, and after marching a long time across the forest, we arrived at the foot of Nirva, a sharp mountain, whose summit is composed of rock alone, which we ascended, and upon which we established ourselves. On the river we had been grievously incommoded by large flies with green heads, which drew blood wherever they stung; on Nirva we were plagued with several other kinds still more tormenting.

Two young Lapland girls were keeping a little herd of rein-deer upon the summit of this mountain, and from them we learned an antidote against the flies of the country: these poor wenches were so much hid by the smoke of a great fire which they had kindled, that we could scarcely see them; and very soon we were surrounded by a smoke as thick as theirs.

While our party was encamped on Nirva, I left it at eight in the morning with Mr. Camus, to reconnoitre the mountains towards the north; we ascended the river again as far as to the foot of Avasaxa, a high mountain, whose summit we stripped of its

trees, and erected a signal upon it. Our signals were hollow cones made by a number of great trees, which being deprived of their bark, were so white as to be easily distinguished at the distance of ten or twelve leagues; their centre in case of accident was easily to be found again, by marks which we made on the rocks, and stakes which were driven deep into the earth and covered again by great stones: in short these signals were sufficiently commodious for observations, and as substantially constructed as most of the buildings of the country.

As soon as the signal was finished, we descended the mountain, and having embarked on the little river Tenglio, which passing the foot of Avasaxa, empties itself into the great river, we went up it as far as to that part which seemed to us nearest to a mountain apparently calculated for our work; there we landed, and after a march of three hours across a marsh, arrived at the foot of Horilakero. Although greatly fatigued, we ascended it, and passed the night in cuting down what trees we found. A great part of the mountain is of red stone, interspersed with a sort of white crystals, long, and tolerably parallel to one another. The smoke was not here a preventative against the flies, more vexatious upon this mountain than on Nirva. We were obliged notwithstanding the excessive heat to cover our heads with our Lapmudes (a dress made of the skins of rein-deer,) and to cause ourselves to be surrounded by a thick rampart of branches of fir, and even by whole trees which almost overwhelmed us, but which preserved us only for a short time.

After having felled all the trees on top of Horilakero, and constructed a signal there, we left it, and retraced our road to find the boats which we had drawn into the wood; it is thus the inhabitants of the country manage for want of cordage, which is very scarce with them. A few very thin planks of deal compose their skiffs, so light, and so flexible,

that notwithstanding they continually strike against the stones with which the rivers are full, borne by the whole violence of the torrent, they bear the shock without injury. It affords a sight, terrible for those unaccustomed to it, and astonishing to all, to behold this frail machine in the midst of a cataract the noise of which is deafening, carried away by a torrent of waves, froth, and stones; sometimes borne up aloft, and at others lost amid the waves; one dauntless Fin steering it with an oar, while two others row with all their might, to escape the following waves, that threaten to overwhelm them; at such times the keel is often above the water, and only supported by one extremity pressing on a wave, which sinks at every instant. Although these Fins be particularly bold, and skilful amid cataracts, they are every where else ingenious in steering small vessels, in which most frequently they have nothing but a tree with its branches to serve for a mast and sails.

We re-embarked on the Tenglio, and having entered the Torneo, we sailed down it, to return to Korpikyla. Four leagues from Avasaxa, we left our boats, and after walking nearly an hour in the forest, we found ourselves at the foot of Cuitaperi, a very rugged mountain, whose top was a rock covered with moss, commanding a prospect all around for a considerable distance; from it, on the south, we could distinguish the sea of Bothnia: we raised a signal here, from which we saw Horilakero, Avasaxa, Torneo, Nirva, and Kakama. We continued then to fall down the river, which between Cuitaperi and Korpikyla contains dreadful cataracts that it is not usual to pass in boats. The Fins did not fail to land in the neighbourhood of these, although excess of fatigue made it more supportable for us to pass them in boats, than to walk a hundred paces. At length, the 11th of July, at night, we came to Nirva, where the remainder of our company was established; they had seen our signals, but the sky

had been so much charged with vapour they had been unable to make any observation. I know not whether it was owing to the continual presence of the sun above the horizon which raised vapours that there was no night to condense, but during the two months that we passed upon these mountains, the heavens were always overcast until the north wind came to dissipate the mist. This disposition of the atmosphere often detained us eight or ten days on a mountain in waiting for the favourable opportunity of seeing distinctly the objects we wished to observe. It was not until the day after our return to Nirva, that some angles were taken; and the following, under favour of a very bleak north wind, we completed our observations.

July the fourteenth, we left Nirva, and while Messrs. Camus, Le Monnier, and Celsius went to Kakama, Messrs. Clairaut, Cuthier and myself passed on to Cuitaperi, whence, on the sixteenth, M. L'Abbé Cuthier departed, to place a signal on Pullingi. The eighteenth, we took observations, which, notwithstanding the interruption of thunder and rain, we completed by night, and the twentieth, we set off, and arrived at midnight at Avasaxa.

This mountain is fifteen leagues from Torneo, on the bank of the river; the access to it is difficult; to ascend it, we had to pass through a forest that continues for half its height; it is there divided by great heaps of sharp and slippery stones from its remainder, which extended to the summit; I say extended; because we caused all the trees that covered the top to be cut down. The N. E. side is a frightful precipice of rocks, in which some falcons had made their nest; at the foot of it the Tenglio runs, which turns round Avasaxa before it throws itself into the Torneo. From this mountain, the prospect is beautiful; nothing interrupts the sight towards the south, and the course of the river is discernible for a vast extent; towards the east, the Tenglio is traced

through several lakes that it passes; on the north the view extends twelve or fifteen leagues, where it is interrupted by a multitude of mountains, heaped one upon the other, resembling chaos, among which it was not easy to find that which we had seen from Avasaxa.

We passed ten days on this mountain, during which, curiosity often procured us visits from the inhabitants of the neighbouring country; they brought us fish, sheep, and such wretched fruits as grow in their forests.

Between this mountain and Cuitaperi, the river is exceeding broad, and forms a kind of lake, which as well as that it was extensive, was very advantageously situated for our base; Messrs. Clairaut and Camus took upon themselves the care of ascertaining its direction, and for that purpose remained at Oswer Torneo, after our observations upon Avasaxa were completed; while I went to Pullingi with Messrs. Le Monnier, Cuthier, and Celsius. On the same day that we left Avasaxa, we passed the polar circle, and arrived the next day (31 July) at three o'clock in the morning at Turtula, a kind of hamlet for the reapers of the little barley and grass that grow in those parts. After walking some time in the forest, we embarked on a lake which carried us to the foot of Pullingi.

It is the highest of the mountains, and extremely difficult of access from the suddenness with which it rises, and from the height of the moss, in which we could scarcely walk. We got to the summit, however, at six o'clock in the morning, and the stay we made from the thirty-first July to the sixth August was as painful as our ascent. It was necessary we should cut down a forest of the largest trees; and the flies were so troublesome, that our soldiers of the regiment of Westro-Bothnia, a regiment distinguished even in Sweden, where there are so many brave men, these men, enured to the greatest hardships, were obliged to envelope their faces, and cover them with

pitch; these insects infected every thing we were about to eat; as soon as exposed, our meat was black over with them. The birds of prey were not less famished, they flew round us continually, to seize on some joints of mutton which were cooking for us.

The day after our arrival at Pullingi, M. L'Abbé Cuthier left us, accompanied by an officer of the same regiment which had rendered us so much service; to erect a signal towards Pollo. On the fourth, we perceived one on Niemi that the same officer had raised: having taken the angles between these signals, we left Pullingi the sixth of August, (having suffered severely), to go to Pillo; passing four cataracts, we arrived there the same day.

Pillo is a village inhabited by a few Fins, near to which Kittis the lowest of the mountains is situated; upon this our signal was placed. In ascending towards it, we found a spring of the purest water, issuing from a very fine sand, and which in the severest frosts of winter, preserves its liquid state; when we returned to Pillo at the end of winter, while the sea at the bottom of the gulph, and all the rivers were become hard as marble, this water still ran as in the middle of summer.

We were so fortunate on our arrival as to complete our observations, and staid at Kittis only till the following day; leaving it at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arriving the same evening at Turtula.

Already a month had passed that we had lived in the desarts, or rather on the tops of mountains, having no other bed than the ground, or a stone spread over with deer skins, nor any other nourishment than a few fish which the Fins brought us, or which we ourselves caught, and some species of berries, or wild fruits which the forests afforded. The health of M. Mounier, which was not proof against this kind of life; and which was considerably hurt at Pullingi, diminished visibly, and entirely failing him here, I left

him at Turtula to descend the river, and go for it re-establishment to the house of the rector of Oswe Torneo; which was the best, and almost the only asylum the country possessed.

At the same time, I left Turtula, in company with Messrs. Cuthier and Celsius, to traverse the forest in search of the signal that the officer had erected a Niemi: this was a terrible journey. We proceeded as far as to a little rivulet, on leaving Turtula, when we got on board three small boats, but they passed with so much trouble among the rocks, that we were every now and then obliged to get out, and leap from one to another. This rivulet led us to a lake, so full of little yellow grains of the size of millet, that its water was entirely coloured by it; I took them to be the crysals of some insect, and conjectured that they were those of the flies which had so much tormented us, since I saw no others whose number could answer the quantity of grains, requisite to fill a lake of tolerable size. At the end of this lake we had to walk to another of the finest water, on which we found a boat; we put our quadrant in it, and followed it along the shore. On these shores the forest was so thick that we were obliged to cut our way through, every moment inconvenienced by the height of the moss, and by the fir-trees which we met with lying on the ground. In all these forests there are nearly as many of these trees fallen as standing, the soil which nourishes them to a certain point, is incapable of affording them nutriment beyond, and not deep enough to allow them to establish themselves firmly; one half perishes or is blown down by the least wind. All these forests are full of firs, and birch trees thus rooted up. Time has reduced the latter to dust without occasioning the smallest change in the bark: we were surprised to find that with the least stroke we could crush and break them although of some size. It is this most likely which gave ori

gin to the use that the Swedes make of the bark of birch; they cover houses with it, and in fact nothing can be better adapted for the purpose.

In some provinces this bark is covered with earth, upon which gardens are formed upon the roofs, as on many of the houses at Upsal. In Westro-Bothnia the bark is fastened by cylinders of fir, fixed to the ridge, declining on both sides the roof. These woods seemed only the ruins of forests, of which the greater part of the trees had perished; it was one of this description, and the most hideous of them that we had to pass through on foot, followed by twelve soldiers who carried our baggage. We came at length to the border of a lake of great size, and of the finest water in the world; we found two boats on it, into which having put our instruments and luggage, we waited their return at the side. A heavy gale and the bad state of the boats made their voyage tedious; they came back at length, we went on board, traversed the lake, and got to the foot of Niemi at three o'clock in the afternoon.

This mountain, which the surrounding lakes, and the difficulties we had to surmount in reaching it, made appear like the enchanted grounds of fairy tales, would be delightful in any other part but Lapland: on one side a clear wood, the walks of which were as even as the alleys of a garden, in it the trees formed no impediment to our way, nor prevented the view of a charming lake that washed the foot of a mountain; on the other side were parlours and closets seemingly cut out of the rock, and to which nothing but the roof was wanting: these rocks were so perpendicular, so lofty, and so even, that they looked more like walls begun for some palace, than a work of nature. Frequently while there we saw those vapours rise out of the lake, which the inhabitants of the country call *haltios*, and which they conceive to be the spirits to whom the guardianship of the mountains is committed: this particular moun-

tain was formidable by its being the residence of bears; however we saw none, and it had more the appearance of the habitation of genii and fairies than the dwelling for bears.

The day following that of our arrival, a fog prevented our observations; on the tenth they were interrupted by thunder and rain; the eleventh we completed them, and leaving Niemi, after repassing three lakes, we arrived at Turtula, at nine o'clock in the evening; whence on the twelfth we again set out for the house of the rector of Oswer Torneo, which we reached at three o'clock in the afternoon, and where we met with our companions, leaving M. Le Monnier, and M. L'Abbé Cuthier: on the thirteenth I proceeded with Messrs. Clairaut, Camus, and Celsius, for Horrilakero, with four boats. We entered the Tenglio, which has its cataracts, but is more inconvenient from its shallowness, and the great number of stones in it, than from the rapidity of its waters. I was surprised to find on its banks, so near to the frozen zone, roses of as lively crimson as those which grow with us. At nine o'clock in the evening we arrived at Horrilakero. We did not complete our observations here until the seventeenth, and leaving it the next day, we got to Oswer Torneo by night, meeting with all our company.

The most suitable spot for establishing the base had been fixed upon: and Messrs. Clairaut and Camus, after having visited the banks of the river, had determined its direction, and fixed the length of it by signals which they had caused to be erected at its two extremities.

Having ascended Avasaxa in the evening to observe the angles which were to unite this base to our triangles, we saw Horrilakero all on fire. This is an accident frequent in these forests, where there is no subsisting during summer, except in the midst of smoke, and where the moss and the firs are so combustible, that oftentimes the fire that is lighted occa-

sions the conflagration of thousands of acres. The smoke of these fires has frequently hindered us in our work, as much as the thickness of the air. Seeing that it was highly probable that the fire of Horrilakero arose from the embers of that we had kindled, and which had been badly extinguished, we sent thirty men to cut away its communication with the neighbouring woods. Our observations on Avasaxa were not completed before the twenty-first. Horrilakero still continued burning; we saw it covered with smoke, and the fire, which had reached the forest below, at intervals broke out with violence.

Some of the people sent to Horrilakero reporting that the signal had been damaged by the fire; we sent to reconstruct it, a work of no difficulty, from the precautions before noticed.

The twenty-second we went to Poiky Torneo, on the bank of the river, where the northern signal of the base was stationed, to make the observations necessary to unite it to the summit of the mountains; and on the twenty-third we left it for the other extremity of the base, where, on the bank of the river, at a place called Niemisby, the southern signal was placed. That night we slept in a pretty pleasant meadow, from which M. Camus the next day went on to Pello, to prepare huts for us, and construct an observatory on Kittis, where we were to make astronomical observations for ascertaining the amplitude of our arch. After taking our observation from the southern signal, we again ascended Cuitaperi at night, where the last observation, which was to unite the base with the triangles, was completed on the twenty-sixth.

We had just learned that the sextant which we expected from England had arrived at Torneo, and we hastened to that place to get it ready with the other instruments that we had, to carry to Kittis, where the severity of winter was more to be dreaded than at Torneo, and where for which reason we were desirous

of beginning our observations for determining the amplitude of the arch, before the frosts set in. While all was preparing for the journey to Pello, we went up the steeple of the church built on the Isle of Swentzar, which I notice, in order that it may not be confounded with the Finnish church built in the Isle of Bierckhohn, to the south of Swentzar; and having observed from this steeple the angles which it made with our mountains, we again left Torneo the third of September with fifteen boats, the largest fleet which had ever been seen on the river, and arrived to sleep at Kuckula.

The succeeding day we reached Korpikyla, and while part of our company continued their route towards Pello, I set off on foot with Messrs. Celsius and Cuthier for the Kakama, where we arrived at nine in the evening through a heavy rain.

The whole summit of Kakama consists of foliated white stone, its leaves having a vertical direction almost perpendicular to the meridian. These stones held the rain, which for some time back had fallen in such manner, that every part which did not consist of rock was covered with water; and it continuing to rain through the night, our observations could not be completed till the next day; we were consequently obliged to pass a second night as damp and as cold as the preceding: on the sixth our observations were finished.

After the uncomfortable stay that we made at Kakama we left it, and urged by a continual rain through a forest where we had difficulty to keep our feet, we exerted ourselves greatly to get forward, and after five hours walking arrived at Korpikyla: we slept there that night, and continuing our journey the next day, we reached Pello the ninth of September, where met all together.

Our different expeditions, and a residence of sixty-three days in the desarts, had given us the best succession of triangles possible: a work, the practica-

bility of which was uncertain, and in which we ran great hazard of not succeeding, had turned out as fortunately as it could have done, had we possessed the power of disposing the site of the mountains at at our pleasure.

Our mountains collectively with the church of Torneo formed a close figure, in the midst of which was Horilakero, a focus serving to unite all the trian- of which our figure was composed: it was a long heptagon, in the direction of the meridian. This figure was susceptible of a proof rather singular in these operations, depending on the natural qualities of polygons. The sum of the angles of an heptagon on a level is 900 deg. the sum of our heptagon upon a curved surface ought to exceed this a little, and we found it 900 deg. 1 m. 37 sec., according to our observations of sixteen angles. Towards the middle of the figure we formed a base, the largest perhaps that ever was measured, and the most even; since it was on the surface of the river that it was to be measured, when it should be frozen. The extent of this base secured to us an exactitude in measuring the heptagon, and its position left no room to apprehend that there could be any errors of moment, from the small number of triangles in the midst of which it was placed.

Indeed the length of the arc of the meridian which we were measuring, was very convenient for the certainty of our work. If there be an advantage in measuring large arcs, inasmuch that the errors which may arise in computing the amplitude are not greater for large than small arches, and that diffused amid small ones, they make a more considerable total of error than amid larger ones: on the other hand, the mistakes which may be made in the triangles may have consequences dangerous in propertion to the distance to be measured, and the number of the triangles. If the number be great, and the conveniency of a base for frequent proofs be wanting, these last errors may form

a very diverging series, and more than counterbalance the advantages derivable from large arcs. I had read to the academy before my departure a memoir on this subject, in which I determined the most advantageous length to be measured for a certainty of exactitude; this length depends on the precision with which the horizontal angles are observed, compared with that which the instrument may give, with which the distance of the stars from the zenith is taken; and applying the reflections which I made to our work, it will be found that a longer or shorter arc than ours would not have afforded so much certainty of its measure.

For observing the angles between our signals, we used a quadrant of two feet radius, with a micrometer attached, which being verified round the horizon, always gave the sum of the angles very nigh by four proofs: its centre was always placed in the centre of the signals, every one took and wrote his observations separately; and afterwards we adopted the mean of all the observations, which differed very little one from another.

On every mountain we took especial care to observe the elevation or depression of the objects chosen for taking the angles, and the reduction of the angles to the level of the horizon we established on these heights.

This first part of our work, which might have been impossible, being thus happily terminated, we gathered fresh spirits to go through the rest, which simply required labour.

In a succession of triangles joined one to another by common sides, the angles of which are known, one side being ascertained, it is easy to find the remainder: we were sure of possessing the exact distance from the steeple of the church of Torneo, which terminated our heptagon towards the south, to the signal of Kittis, which was its northern extremity, as soon as the length of our base should be known;

and the measurement of this we postponed till winter, when we should not want either for time or ice.

We then turned to another part of our work, to determine the amplitude of the arc of the meridian comprehended between Kittis and Torneo, the measurement of which we looked upon as complete. I have already stated what this was which we had to determine. It was necessary to observe how much higher or lower the same star when on the meridian appeared at Torneo than at Kittis, or, what is the same, how much this star on crossing the meridian was more distant from the zenith of Torneo than of Kittis. This difference between the two elevations, or the two distances from the zenith, was the amplitude of the arc of the terrestrial meridian between Kittis and Torneo. This is a simple operation: it does not even require that one should have the positive distances of the star from the zenith of each place; it is sufficient to take the difference between the distances; but this operation exacts the greatest nicety and the utmost precaution. We had for the purpose a sextant of about nine feet radius, similar to that which Mr. Bradley uses, and with which he made his curious discovery of the aberration of the fixed stars. The instrument was made at London, under the inspection of Mr. Graham, of the Royal Society of England. This able mechanic had studied to unite in it every advantage and convenience that we could desire, and himself graduated the limb.

There are too many things to notice in this instrument for my giving now a complete description of it. Although what properly constitutes the instrument be very simple, its size, the number of pieces serving to render it commodious to the observer, the weight of a large pyramid nearly twelve feet high, which forms its pedestal, made its getting up to the summit of the mountains of Lapland almost an impracticable matter.

On Kittis two observatories had been built: in one

was the time-piece of Mr. Graham, a quadrant of two feet, and an instrument consisting of a telescope fixed perpendicularly, and moveable about an horizontal axis, for which as well we are indebted to the care of Mr. Graham: this instrument was placed exactly in the centre of the signal, which served as a point to our last triangle: it was used for determining the direction of the triangles with the meridian. The other observatory, much larger, was adjoining, and so nigh that one could distinctly hear the ticking of the time-piece from one to the other; the sextant almost filled it. I shall say nothing of the difficulty of transporting so many instruments to the top of the mountain: it was effected, the limb of the sextant was placed exactly on the level of the meridian we had traced, and we satisfied ourselves of its exactness, by the time of the passing of a star of which we had taken the elevation. To sum up, every thing on the thirtieth of September was ready to begin observing, and the succeeding days the observation of the star δ of the Dragon were made, in which the greatest difference that occurred did not exceed 3 sec.

While observing this star with the sextant, the other observations were not neglected: the time-piece was not regulated every day with care by corresponding elevations of the sun; and with the instrument which I before mentioned we observed the passage of the sun, and the time of its passing the verticals of Niema and Pullingi. By these means the situation of our heptagon in respect to the meridian was ascertained, and eight of these observations, the difference between the widest of which did not amount to a minute, gave for a mean of the angle formed with the meridian of Kittis, by a line drawn from the signal of Kittis to the signal of Pullingi, 21 deg. 51 min. 52 sec.

All these observations were very happily completed, but rains and fogs had so much retarded them, that we had reached a period at which it was scarcely pos-

sible to undertake a return to Torneo; nevertheless other corresponding observations upon the same star remained to made there, and we were desirous that the smallest possible interval should occur between the observations, in order to obviate the errors which might arise from any motion of the star (in case it should have any of which we were ignorant.)

It is sufficiently distinguishable that the whole of this operation being founded upon the difference of the meridional height of a certain star observed at Kittis and at Torneo, it is necessary that the star should maintain the same position; or at least if it should be liable to any change of elevation, that it should be known, in order not to confound such motion with the curve of the arc desired.

Astronomers for many ages have noticed a revolution of the stars round the poles of the ecliptic, which causes the precession of the equinox, and a change of declension in the stars, which we can compute upon, in the matter of which we speak.

But there is in the stars another change of declension, on which, although more recently observed, I believe we may reckon as securely as upon the other. Although Mr. Bradley be the first who discovered the rules of the change, the exactness of his observations, and the excellence of the instrument with which they were made, are equivalent to many ages of ordinary observations. He found that every star observed during the course of the year, seemed to describe in the heavens a small ellipsis, of which the great axis is about 40 sec. As there appeared at first to be a great variety in this motion of the stars, it was not till after a long succession of observations that Mr. Bradley discovered the theory upon which this motion, or rather this appearance, depends. If to discover so small a motion required his nicety of observation, his intelligence as well was necessary to find out the principle which produced it. We will not

attempt to explain the system of that celebrated astronomer, which may be much better seen by consulting No. 406 of the Philosophical Transactions; all that we shall observe on the subject of this difference in the place of the stars, observed from the earth, is, that it arises from the motion of the light radiated by the star, and the motion of the earth in its orbit, combined together. Were the earth motionless, it would require a certain inclination of the telescope through which a star is observed to permit the ray emitted by the star to traverse its centre in coming to the eye. But if the earth, which bears the telescope, move with a velocity comparable to the velocity of the ray of light, it is no longer the same inclination which is necessary to give to the telescope; its position must be changed to allow the ray of light penetrating its centre, to reach the eye; and the different positions of the telescope will depend on the different directions in which the earth moves at the various seasons of the year. The calculation being made on this principle, according to the velocity of the earth in its orbit, and according to the velocity of light, known by different experiments, the change of declension in the stars is found to be as stated by Mr. Bradley from observation; and one is enabled to subtract from the declension of every star the quantity necessary for considering it as fixed, during the time that must elapse between the observations that are compared with each other for determining an arc of the meridian.

Although the motion of every star in the course of the year follow very exactly the law which depends upon this theory, Mr. Bradley has discovered yet an additional motion of the stars, much smaller than the two which we have mentioned, and which is not sensible until after the lapse of several years. To perfect nicety this third motion should be reckoned; but for our work, in which the time that passed between the observations was very short, its effect is insensible, or rather much smaller than one can reasonably hope

to determine in these kind of operations. In fact, I consulted Mr. Bradley to know if he had any observations upon the two stars that we used for ascertaining the amplitude of our arc. Although he had not observed our stars, because they pass too far from his zenith to be observed with his instrument, he has been so good as to communicate to me his last discoveries on the aberration and the third motion of the stars, and the corrected copy which he has sent for our amplitude, in which attention is paid to the precession of the equinox, the aberration of the stars, and this new motion, does not sensibly differ from the amended scheme which we had made for the precession and aberration alone, as in the detail of our operations will be seen.

Notwithstanding we might safely rely upon the amendment for the aberration of light we were willing to make this amendment as little as possible, in order to satisfy those (if any there should be,) who might be unwilling to admit of Mr. Bradley's theory, or who should imagine that there were other motions of the stars: for this purpose it was fit that the interval between the observations at Kittis and that of Torneo should be as short as possible.

We had perceived ice as early as the nineteenth of September, and snow on the twenty-first. Several parts of the river were already frozen, and these first frosts which were imperfect, prevented navigation for some time on it, yet left it impassable with sledges.

In case of waiting at Pello, we ran the chance of not arriving at Torneo until a period which would occasion too long an interval between the observations already made and those we had to make there; we even risked losing the star by the sun which was approaching it, merging it in its rays. It would then be necessary to return in the midst of winter, to take fresh observations of some other star upon Kittis; but it was apparently neither practicable nor possible

to pass whole nights taking observations during the winter on that mountain.

By setting off we ran the risk of being surprised by the ice in the river, and detained with all the instruments; there was no computing where, nor how long: we risked as well the rendering fruitless our observations at Kittis, and we readily perceived how difficult it would be to repair such a loss, in a country where observations can so seldom be made, where throughout the summer we could not hope to see any of the stars which our sextant could embrace, from their smallness, and from the continual day which renders them invisible, and where the winter made the observatory of Kittis uninhabitable: we weighed all these difficulties, and resolved to risk the voyage. Messrs. Camus and Celsius departed the twenty-third with the sextant: the following day Messrs. Clairaut and Le Monnier; and on the twenty-sixth M. L'Abbé Outhier and myself: we were fortunate enough to arrive by water at Torneo the twenty-eighth of October, and were assured that the river had scarcely ever been navigable so late in the season.

The observatory which we had caused to be prepared at Torneo was ready to receive the sextant, and it was placed there on a level with the meridian. The first of November it began to freeze hard, and the succeeding day the river was frozen over: the ice no longer melted, but was quickly white with snow; and this vast river, which a few days before was covered with swans and various other water-fowl, was now no more than an immense plain of ice and snow.

On the first of November we began to observe the star we had before observed at Kittis, and with the same care: the widest of these observations did not differ 1 sec. These observations, as well as the former at Kittis, were made by day, without throwing light on the threads of the telescope: then taking a mean, reducing the parts of the micrometer in to seconds, and having due regard to the change of the declension of

the star, during the time elapsed between the observations, as well for the precession of the equinox as for the other motions of it, we found the amplitude of our arc 57 min. 27 sec.

Our work now, as far as it could be, was complete; it was stopped without our being able to tell if we should find the earth lengthened or flattened, because we were unacquainted with the length of our base. What remained to do was not an operation difficult in itself, it was only to measure with the rod the distance between the two signals that were raised the summer before; but this measurement was to be made upon the ice of a Lapland river, in a country where the cold became daily more and more intolerable, and the distance to be measured was more than three leagues.

We were advised to delay the measurement until the spring, because then in addition to the length of the days, the first thaws which happened on the surface of the snow, which are quickly succeeded by a new frost, form a sort of crust capable of bearing men; instead of which, during the coldest part of winter, the snow of these countries is nothing but a fine and dry powder, generally four or five feet high, in which it is impossible to walk when once that height is attained.

In spite of what was every day before our eyes, we were fearful of being surprised by a thaw. We were ignorant of its being sufficiently in time, in the month of May, to measure the base, and all the advantages we sought in spring disappeared before the ungrounded fear of missing our measurement.

In the mean time we did not know whether the height of the snow would allow of our walking on the river between the signals of the base; and Messrs. Clairaut, Outhier, and Celsius set off the tenth of December to try. The snows were found already very high; but as they did not leave us without hope

of being able to measure, we all departed together for Oswer Torneo.

M. Camus, assisted by L'Abbé Outhier, employed the nineteenth and twentieth of December in adjusting eight rods, of thirty feet each, by an iron toise which we had brought with us from France, and which, during the adjustment, we took care to keep in a place where the thermometer of M. Reaumur was at 15 deg. above 0, and that of M. Prius at 62 deg. which is the temperature of the months of April and May at Paris. Our rods once adjusted, the change which cold could effect in their length was not to be apprehended, since we had observed that heat and cold caused upon our deal measures much less sensible changes than upon the length of iron. Every experiment that we tried gave us variations of length almost imperceptible. Some trials which we made give me reason to suspect that cold possesses the quality of lengthening rather than diminishing the length of wood, contrary to its known effect on metals. Possibly a remnant of sap, which was contained in the measures we used, froze on being exposed to the cold, and caused it to participate the property of liquids, whose volume augments upon freezing. M. Camus took such pains in adjusting these rods, that in spite of their extreme length, when they were placed between two guages of iron, they fitted so exactly that the thickness of a leaf of paper of the thinnest kind, additional or less, made the putting them between them impossible, or left room.

On Friday the 21st of December, the wintry equinoctial day, a remarkable one for such a work, we began the measurement of our base towards Avasaxa. The sun at that time scarcely rose by noon; but the long twilights, the whiteness of the snow, and the fires with which the heavens in this country are illuminated, afforded us every day sufficient light to work during four or five hours. We left the house of the rector of Oswer Torneo, where we lodged during this work, at eleven o'clock in the morning.

and got on the river, when we were to begin the measurement, with such a number of sledges, and so numerous an equipage, that the Laplanders descended from their mountains to enjoy the novelty of the sight. We divided ourselves into two companies, each of which carried four of the measures we have spoken of. I shall say nothing of the fatigue, nor of the dangers of this operation: conceive what it must be, to walk in two feet depth of snow, loaded with heavy rods, that we had to place continually upon the snow and take up again, and this during so intense a frost, that our tongues and lips froze to the glass on drinking brandy, which was the only liquor that could be sufficiently liquid to drink, and could not be got away without taking off the skin; a frost which nipped the fingers of some of us, and which continually threatened us with greater accidents. While our extremities were frozen, our labour made us sweat. Brandy did not slake our thirsts; we were obliged to dig deep pits in the ice, which were almost as quickly closed, and from which the water could scarcely be brought in a liquid state to the mouth; and we were obliged to run the risk of the dangerous consequences which were to be apprehended from taking this iced water at a time our body was so warm.

However the work advanced; six days' labour had brought it so near to an end that no more than five hundred toises, which could not be marked with stakes sufficiently soon, remained to be measured. The continuation of the measurement then was interrupted, the twenty-seventh, and while Messrs. Clairaut, Camus, and Le Monnier busied themselves in fixing the stakes, in company with M. L'Abbé Outhier, I employed the day in an enterprise rather singular.

An observation of the slightest moment, and which in the most commodious countries might be overlooked, had been neglected the summer before; the height of an object used on Avasaxa, in taking the

angle formed by Cuitaperi and Horalakero, had not been observed. The desire which actuated us, that nothing should be wanting in our work, impelled us to be scrupulously exact. I undertook to ascend Avasaxa with a quadrant. Figure to yourself a very lofty mountain full of rocks, hid by a prodigious quantity of snow, and the cavities made by which, alike concealed, threaten the adventurer who should attempt to ascend it with destruction; it will be deemed impracticable: nevertheless, there are two modes of effecting it, the one by walking or rather sliding on two narrow planks of eight feet long, as the Fins and Laplanders do, in order to prevent their sinking into the snow, a custom that requires a long practice; the other by trusting to the rein-deer who were able to make such a journey.

These animals are not able to draw any other than a very small boat, into which the half of the body of a man can with difficulty enter: this boat, designed for travelling through the snow, in order to find the least resistance from it, in cutting it with its prow, and sliding over, is fashioned the same as boats used at sea, that is to say, with a pointed prow and sharp keel below, which causes it to roll and overturn continually, unless he who is within, be careful in preserving a balance. The boat is fastened by a thong of leather to the breast of the rein-deer, who, if upon a beaten and firm track, runs with fury. However desirous of stopping him, you pull in vain at a kind of bridle fastened to his horns; intractable as he is, it causes him only to change his road, sometimes even he comes back to be revenged by kicking you. On such occasions the Laplanders turn the boat over them, making it serve as a shield against the rage of the animal. For our part, little able to employ such a remedy, we should have been killed before we could have shielded ourselves. Our only defence was a little stick that was put in our hand, with which we had to steer as with a rudder, and

shun the trunks of trees. Thus trusting to the rein-deer it was that I ascended Avasaxa, in company with M. L'Abbé Outhier, two Laplanders, one Lapland woman, and Mr. Brunnius, their rector.

The first part of the voyage was completed in an instant, there was a hard beaten road leading from the house of the rector to the foot of the mountain, which we passed over with a swiftness comparable to the flight of a bird. Although the mountain, on which there was no road, delayed the progress of the rein-deer, they drew us to the top, and we completed immediately the observation, the object of our journey. In the interval our rein-deer had dug deep holes in the snow, where they grazed the moss with which the rocks of this mountain are covered; and our Laplanders having kindled a great fire, we approached it to warm ourselves. The cold was so severe that the heat had no power to extend itself the shortest distance; if in such places as the fire immediately touched the snow it melted, it froze again all round it, and formed a hedge of ice.

If our trouble were great in ascending Avasaxa, our fear of returning too quick over a craggy mountain, was not less; exposed in carriages which always slided, even while sunk into the snow; and drawn by animals which excited our apprehensions even on the plains, and which, notwithstanding they sunk to their bellies, extricated themselves by the velocity of their course. We were shortly at the foot of Avasaxa; and in a minute afterwards we had passed the great river, and were housed.

The following day we finished the measure of our base, and had no right, when we saw the precision that our level had afforded us, to regret the trouble which our measurement on a frozen river had caused. The difference found between the measurement of our two parties amounted to no more than four inches on a distance of 7406 toises, five feet; a precision which we could not expect, and which one should almost

fear to tell. Neither can it be considered as the result of chance, or compensations for more considerable former differences; for this small one almost wholly arose during the last day. Our two parties measured daily by the same number of toises, and on none did the difference of the two measurements exceed an inch, which sometimes one exceeded the other, and at other times the reverse. This nicety, although due to the ice, and the extreme care we employed, shewed at the same time the exactness of the lengths of our rods: for the slightest inequality between the rods must on so considerable a distance have made a very sensible difference.

We had ascertained the amplitude of our arc, and our figure being completed, waited for nothing but the length of the base to be fixed to the scale. We then found that the length of the arc of the meridian intercepted between the two parallels that cut our two observatories of Torneo and Kittis, was 55,023½ toises; that this length having for its amplitude 57 min. 27 sec. the degree of the meridian under the polar circle, was greater by nearly 1000 toises than what it should be according to the computations of the book on *The Size and Figure of the Earth*. After this operation we hastened to return to Torneo to endeavour to secure ourselves from the latter rigour of winter.

The town of Torneo, when we arrived there, the thirtieth of December, offered a dreadful spectacle; its low houses were sunk in snow to the roof which would have excluded all light, if there had been any; but snow continually falling, or threatening to fall, scarcely ever allowed the sun, the few minutes it was above the horizon about noon, to shew itself. The frost was so sharp in the month of January, that our thermometers of mercury, constructed by M. Reaumur, those thermometers that we were surprised to see sink to 14 deg. below the freezing point at Paris, in the great frosts of 1709, sunk to 37 deg. while

those of spirits of wine froze. On opening the door of a warm room the external air immediately converted into snow the vapour which was formed, making white whirlwinds: on going out, the air seemed to tear the breast. We were continually warned of and threatened with an increase of cold, by the noise of the splitting of the wood, of which all the houses are built. To behold the solitude which reigned in the streets, one would conceive that all the inhabitants were dead. We frequently saw people who had been frost-bitten, and the inhabitants of so rude a climate frequently lose a leg or an arm. Cold, always rigid in this country, is sometimes suddenly so sharply increased as to destroy infallibly those who may have the bad fortune to be exposed to it. Sometimes storms of snow arise even more dangerous, woe to him who in the country is surprised by such; in vain would he strive by his recollection of places, by trees he had marked, to find his way; he is blinded by the snow; if he makes a stop, he is swallowed up.

If the aspect of the earth be horrible in these climates, the sky affords the most beautiful spectacle. As soon as the nights grow dark, fires of a thousand colours and a thousand various shapes lighten the sky, seemingly to indemnify this country, used to enjoy continual day, for the absence of the sun which leaves it. These fires in this country have no constant position, as in southern parts; for although an arch of fixed light be frequently seen towards the north, they seem more commonly to occupy indifferently every part of the sky. Sometimes they begin by forming a large scarf of clear and moving light, whose extremities reach to the horizon, and which rapidly traverses the heavens with a motion resembling the cast of a fisherman's net, preserving in this motion very perceptibly a direction perpendicular to the meridian. Most frequently after these preludes, all the lights unite towards the zenith, where they

form the head of a kind of crown. Oftentimes arcs, similar to those we see in France towards the north, are seen towards the south, at times in the north and south at once, their tops approaching while their extremities retire sinking towards the horizon. I have seen some of these opposites whose summits nearly touched each other at the zenith; both one and the other have frequently beyond them several concentric arcs. They have all of them their tops towards the south, with however a trifling variation westward, which did not appear to me to be constantly the same, and which at times is imperceptible. Some of these arcs, after appearing broadest upon the horizon, become narrower as they approach each other, and represent above more than half a great ellipsis: to describe all the figures which these lights assume, and all the motions they make, would be an endless task. Their most ordinary motion is one which makes them resemble curtains flying in the air; and by the shades of colours which they assume, one would take them to be of those taffeties which are called flame coloured; sometimes they carpet part of the heavens with scarlet. At Oswer Torneo (one day) it was the 18th of December, a sight of this description, in spite of my being accustomed to them, excited my astonishment. Towards the south a wide region of the sky was tinted with so lively a red, it seemed as though the whole constellation of Orion was tinged with blood; at first fixed, the light soon began to move, and after assuming other colours, such as violet and blue, it formed a dome whose summit was very little distant from the zenith towards the south-west; the brightest moon then shining took away nothing from the spectacle. I saw no more than two of these red lights which are rare in these countries; and where they are dreaded as portents of some great misfortune. Indeed, surveying these phenomena, one cannot be surprised, that those looking on them differently than with the eye of philosophy, should

fancy them chariots of fire, fighting armies, or any other prodigious things.

We remained at Torneo, shut up in our rooms in a state of inaction, until the mouth of March, when we began new undertakings.

The length of the arc we had measured, which differed so much from the computation of the book on the size and figure of the earth, astonished us; and in spite of the incontestability of our operation, we resolved to verify our work by the most rigorous proofs.

As to our triangles, all their angles had been so many times observed, and by so great a number of persons who all agreed, that no room was left to doubt of the truth of that part of our work. It had even an advantage above any other former work of this nature: hitherto two angles only having been used, and the third computed, whereas all our angles had been observed, notwithstanding the inconvenience it occasioned by causing us to make several very disagreeable procrastinations of our residence on the tops of mountains.

Moreover, although only eight triangles were necessary to determine the distance between Torneo and Kittis, we observed several supernumerary angles, and our heptagon thereby afforded combinations or successions of triangles without number.

Our work, at least this part of it, had been done, we may say, a great many times over; all that was necessary therefore was to compare by calculation, the lengths given by all these different successions of triangles. We carried our patience so far as to compute twelve of these, and in spite of some triangles improper for such computations, from the small angles they contained, we found the greatest difference given in the distances between Kittis and Torneo did not exceed 54 toises in the widest of these combinations, and we fixed on two which we deemed preferable to the rest, the difference between which

was four toises and a half, the mean of which we took to determine the length of our arc.

The small difference between any of these results would have surprised us, if we had not known how much time and care had been taken in observing our angles. Eight or nine triangles had cost us sixty-three days, and every angle had been so often taken, and by so many different observers, that the mean of all these observations could not fail to be very near the truth.

The small number of our triangles enabled us to make a singular calculation, and which would shew the fullest extent of all the errors which the greatest aukwardness and most complete misfortune, joined together, could possibly produce. We placed as a position, that in all the triangles from the base, we had made an error of 20 seconds in each of the two angles, and 40 seconds in the third, and that all these errors were on the same side, and tended to diminish the length of our arc. And the result, allowing so strange a position, was that fifty-four toises and a half of error was the whole that it could occasion.

The care with which we had measured the base left no apprehension on that score. The agreement of a great number of intelligent persons who separately wrote the number of rods; and the repeating of this measurement, with only four inches of variance, made a certainty of correctness even more than sufficient.

The rest of our examination was therefore turned to the amplitude of our arc, and the little difference which we found in our observations either at Kittis or Torneo left us nothing to wish for of greater nicety.

There seemed, on noticing the solidity and the mode of construction of our sextant, and the precaution we used in transporting it, no room to fear that we had any ways deranged it. The limb, the telescope, and the centre of this instrument were of

one piece, the threads in the focus of the object glass were of silver, fixed by Mr. Graham in such a manner that no change of their position could happen, so that in spite of the effects of heat and cold, they remained equally extended. So that the instrument could no otherways be out of order than by its figure being altered and the telescope bent, but if a computation be made of the effects of such a change, it will be seen that in order to cause an error of a second in the amplitude of our arc, it must be so much bent as to be easily perceived. This instrument was transported from Kittis to Torneo by water in a very solid box: always some of us were with it, and on passing the cataracts it was carried by men.

Moreover, the position of the star which we had observed, secured us against any flexion which one might apprehend could happen either to the radius or the telescope of these large instruments, when the star to be observed should be distant from the zenith, and the instrument should be inclined to direct it to the star. Their weight alone might make them bend, and the practice of observing a star with the two different sides of the instrument, which may remedy other accidents, would be of no avail in this instance: for if any flexion should take place in the instrument while observing with its face towards the east; on turning it towards the west, there will be a new flexion in the opposite direction, and nearly equal; so that the line which answered with the zenith when the front of the instrument was turned towards the east, will very possibly answer the same when turned towards the west; and yet the arc which measures the distance from the zenith be wrong. The distance of our star from the zenith of Kittis was not more than half a degree; consequently there was no room for apprehending, that our telescope in a position so nearly vertical should have swerved in the smallest degree.

Although for all these reasons we could not doubt

of our amplitude being correct, we were desirous of proving it so by experiment: and for this purpose we employed a proof of the most laborious description, but best calculated to satisfy us, as it would shew us at the same time the exactness of our instrument, and the precision which we might reckon upon in the arc we had taken.

This proof consisted in ascertaining anew the amplitude of the same arc by another star. We waited then for an opportunity to make succeeding observations of a star, which in this country is difficult, since it seldom happens that three or four fine nights follow each other: and beginning on the 17th of March 1737, to observe the star α of the dragon from the same spot as before, at Torneo, after taking three nice observations of the same star, we departed to take corresponding ones at Kittis. On this occasion our sextant was conveyed on sledges at a foot pace over the snow, the most easy mode of conveyance that can be imagined. Our second star passed even nearer to the zenith than the first, since it was no more than a quarter of a degree from the zenith of Torneo.

The meridian already traced in our observatory at Kittis enabled us to fix our sextant in very little time, and on the 4th of April we then began our observations on α. We took three observations at Kittis as well, which, comparing with those of Torneo, gave for our amplitude 57 min. 30½ sec. which made no greater difference between this and our observation on 8 than 3½ sec. after making allowance for the observation of light.

And not admitting the theory of the aberration of light, the amplitude by the last observed star did not differ a second from that found by the first.

The argument of the two amplitudes with so very slight a difference, a difference which will even be shewn to be less than it now appears; this agreement afforded the most solid proof of the exactness of our

instrument, and of the perfect precision of our observations.

Having thus repeated our work, we found that by a mean of the two amplitudes, the amplitude of the arc of the meridian between Torneo and Kittis, was 57 min. 28¾ sec. which, compared with the length of that arc 55,023½ toises, gives for the degree which cuts the polar circle 57,437 toises, a greater length by 377 toises than that which was ascertained by M. Picard, between Paris and Amiens, which he made to be 57,060 toises. It is however necessary to remark that, as the aberration of the stars was not known in the time of M. Picard, he could make no allowance for it: if this be done for him, and the additional ones for the precession of the equinox, and for refraction, which M. Picard omitted, he added thereto, the amplitude of his arc being 1 deg. 23 min. 6½ sec. and the length 78,850 toises, it will give for the degree 56,925 toises, and make it less than ours by 512 toises.

And were aberration not admitted, the amplitude of our arc would be 57 min. 25 sec. which, compared with its length, would make the degree 57,497 toises; longer than the degree measured by M. Picard by 437 toises.

To conclude, our degree, allowing for aberration, varied 950 toises from what it should have been according to the computation of M. Cassini in his book of the Size and Figure of the Earth; and differs 1000 from it, if aberration be not allowed.

From which it is apparent that the earth is considerably flat towards the poles.

During our stay in the frozen zone, the frost remained yet so severe, that on the seventh of April, at five o'clock in the morning, the thermometer sunk to 20 deg. below the freezing point, although every day at noon it rose to from 2 sec. to 3 deg. above it; thus changing as much between morning and evening as it does in common between the greatest heat and

cold that are experienced at Paris; bringing into twelve hours an equality of vicissitudes with what are felt by the inhabitants of the temperate zones in the space of a year.

We chose to scruple the meridional direction of our heptagon. This, as has been noticed before, had been determined upon Kittis, by a number of observations on the passage of the sun over the verticals of Niemi and Pullingi; and it was not to be apprehended that our figure should have received any alteration in its direction, seeing the small number of triangles of which it consisted, and the closeness with which the sum of the angles of our heptagon approached to 900 deg. Nevertheless we were inclined to make the trial of the direction at Torneo.

For this purpose a different method to that which had been used at Kittis was adopted; this consisted in observing the angle between the sun when on the horizon, and some one of the signals, with the hour at which the angle was taken. The three observations that we made, gave for a mean of the direction by this process, within 34 sec. of what we had determined by the observations from Kittis.

Every part of our work having thus been repeated, nothing remained but to examine the primitive construction and divisions of our sextant. Although we had no ground to doubt its correctness, we undertook to try it in the interval between the time at which the weather would allow of our departure. d this trial, from its singularity, from its demonrating how much our instrument was to be relied on, as well as to shew the means to be used for covering its being out of order, if it should be rous that I should mention it.

the 4th of May, upon the ice of the river we d a distance of 380 toises 1 foot 3 inches was to serve as a radius. And upon measuring e over, we found no variation. Two firm h two sights, in a line drawn perpendicu

larly at the extremity of this distance, were fixed; and having measured the distance between the centres of the two sights, this distance was 36 toises 6 inches 6 lines two thirds, which was to serve as a tangent.

The sextant was placed horizontally in a room upon two firm stocks, supported by an arch in such manner that its centre was exactly at the extremity of the radius of 380 toises 1 foot 3 inches; and five different observers having taken the angle between the two sights, among whom the greatest difference was not two seconds, the mean of which being taken, the angle between the two sights was 5 deg. 29 min. 48 sec. 95. by calculation the angle should have been 5 deg. 29 min. 50 sec. that is to say, it differed from the angle observed by 1 sec. and one twentieth.

It will no doubt be thought surprising, that a sextant of 5 deg. 29 min. 56¼ sec. in a climate so temperate as that of London, and divided in a chamber which certainly was not cold, should be found precisely of the same angle at Torneo, when we tried it. The parts of the sextant were certainly contracted by the cold in this last experiment; but one's surprise will vanish on consideration that the instrument being made wholly of the same matter, its parts would contract proportionally, and consequently its figure remain the same, which was the case.

Having thus found such a wonderful exactness in the whole arc of our sextant, we wished to know if the two degrees of its limb which we used, the one for δ, the other for α, were perfectly equal. M. Camus, whose ingenuity had already been so useful to us on several occasions, procured us the means of making this comparison with all possible exactitude; and having compared together our two degrees, the mean of the observations taken by five observers gave 1 sec. more for the degree of the limb used in taking δ than that used for α.

We were surprised when we saw that this inequality between the two degrees tended to diminish the

very trifling difference found between our two amplitudes, reducing it from 3 and a half min. to 2 and a half min.; and it will be seen in the detail of the operations, that this difference between the two degrees of the limb, however small, it may be accounted for by the means used to discover it.

Thus we verified, not only the total amplitude of our sextant, but also different arcs, which we compared together; and this proof from arc to arc, joined to that of the total which we had made, satisfied us that nothing had been left to wish for beyond in the construction of the instrument, and that so great a precision could not have been expected.

We did not know what else to imagine as necessary for the measurement of the degree of the meridian; for I shall not say any thing here of our experiments on gravity, a matter equally important, and which we treated with equal care. It will be sufficient now to say, that if disposed to follow the example of Messrs. Newton, Huygens, and some others, among whom I scarcely dare to name myself, one might be disposed to compute the figure of the earth by gravity. Every experiment we made in the frozen zone will shew the earth to be flattened; which is confirmed also by what we learn of the experiments made by Messrs. Godin, Bouguer, and La Condamine, on the torrid zone.

In the mean time the sun drew nearer to us, or rather, no longer left the horizon: it was a singular sight to behold it so long illuminate a frozen horizon, to see the summer in the heavens, while rigid winter grasped the earth: we were then in the morning of that long day which lasts for several months; in the mean time it did not seem that the continued sun caused any change in either ice or snow.

On the sixth of May it began to rain, and some water was perceptible on the frozen river. Every day at noon the snow melted, and every night winter resumed its sway. At length, on the 10th of May,

the earth was visible, unseen for such a length of time; some elevated points, exposed to the sun, began to appear, like the summits of the mountains after the flood, and soon after the birds, natural to the country, were seen again. Towards the beginning of June, the ice gave up both land and sea: we immediately turned our thoughts to our return to Stockholm, and departed the ninth of June, some by land and some by sea; but the rest of our adventures, or our shipwreck in the gulf of Bothnia, do not belong to this subject.

ACCOUNT

OF A

JOURNEY TO THE EXTREMITY

OF

LAPLAND,

FOR

THE PURPOSE OF FINDING AN ANCIENT MONUMENT.

[By M. Maupertuis.]

WHILST we were at Pello, where the arc of the meridian which we had measured terminated, the Fins and Laplanders frequently spoke to us of a monument which they looked upon as the wonder of their country, and in which they conceived was contained the knowledge of every thing of which they were ignorant. This monument was reported to be situated from twenty-five to thirty leagues towards the north, in the middle of a vast forest, which separates the gulf of Bothnia from the ocean.

To arrive there one is obliged to be drawn over the snow by rein-deer, in those dangerous sort of carriages called Pulkas, of which I already have given a description in the account of our observations. Although it was the month of April, there was yet a risk of being frozen in the desarts, where there was no hope of finding an asylum; and this risk was to be undertook upon the assertions of Laplanders.

I am almost ashamed to tell that I undertook it.

The want of occupation during a stay that we were obliged to prolong in these countries till the season for our departure; a disposition from curiosity of penetrating to the centre of Lapland; the most slender hope of seeing the only monument of this description perhaps extant in the world, with the habitude which we had of encountering hardships and danger; these perhaps may excuse me. I resolved then on going, and had the good fortune of being accompanied by M. Celsius, who to a most profound acquaintance with astronomy, joined a profound knowledge of the northern languages, and who had made a particular study of Runic inscriptions, to which we thought this, which was spoken of to us, might have some relation.

It perhaps may be pleasing to know the method used in travelling in Lapland. In the beginning of winter, the roads conducting to frequented places are marked with branches of fir: scarcely have the sledges and pulkas beaten the first snow which covers the road, and begun to hollow it, before a succeeding fall, driven by the wind, fills it, and brings it to a level with the surface of the country, lake, or river. The next carriages that pass beat again the way, which other falls of snow cover anew, and these roads alternately hollowed by carriages, and filled by the wind, that reduces every where the snow to a level; although not more raised than the circumjacent parts, form, nevertheless, causeways or bridges of compressed snow, from which by varying to the right or left, one is engulphed by the snow. Great care is taken not to swerve from these roads, and mostly towards the middle they are hollowed by a kind of furrow, made by the pulkas travelling over them; but in the midst of forests and unfrequented places no such roads exist. The Fins and Laplanders only find each other by marks cut on trees. Sometimes the rein-deer plunges up to the horns in snow, and in these places, if overtaken by one of those storms,

during which the snow falls in such quantity, and driven by the wind on every side in such manner, that it is impossible to see two steps from one, it would be impossible to find again the way passed over, or to pursue one's course; destruction must infallibly follow, and above all, if not provided with tents, as we were, to shelter us from part of the storm.

While on our journey, our Laplanders, fruitful in wonderful stories, related to us on this subject many accounts of men who had been taken up into the air in these storms, with their pulkas and their rein-deer, and precipitated sometimes on rocks, at others into the middle of the lakes.

I left Pello the eleventh of April, 1737, and arrived in the evening at Kingis, which is twelve or fifteen French leagues distant. I did not stop there, being desirous of getting to the place where rein-deer were to be provided for me as soon as possible; I therefore proceeded five leagues farther, and slept at Pellika: this is one of the houses which form the village of Payala. In these countries villages are composed of no more than two or three houses, each some leagues distant from the other. I there found six rein-deer with their pulkas; but as we could yet go three leagues farther in sledges, I reserved our horses for the next day to carry us to Erckiheicki, to which place I sent forward the rein-deer to wait for me.

In these unfortunate climates, incessantly burnt during the summer by the rays of the sun, which never goes down, and afterwards during the winter wrapt in profound and continual night, one could not expect to meet with such an agreeable asylum as that we found. The house called Pellika, in spite of its remoteness from the inhabited world, was one of the best I had met with in the country; we stretched out skins of bears and rein-deer, on which we prepared ourselves by taking a little rest for the fatigues of our next day's journey.

Long before sun-rise, I left Pellika on the twelfth

of April, and soon arrived at Erckiheicki, where I stopped no longer than was necessary to leave our sledges and get tied in our pulkas; a precaution without which, when the rein-deer is at its speed, one should not long remain in the carriage. At this season, however, our precautions against the rapidity of the rein-deer were superfluous: they were no longer those ungovernable deer which drew me last summer with such swiftness over the river, and almost flew with me from the top of Avasaxa. Their former smooth horns were now no other than white and dry bones, which one might mistake for parched ribs of dead animals: their bones came through their skin, and they looked as though incapable of dragging us a hundred steps.

The difference of the seasons was the cause of this change. When they drew me to Avasaxa they came from Norway, where, during the summer they had nothing else do but to feed and get fat: at that period I would advise no one to travel in pulkas; but at the present season, after having undergone all the toil of winter and returned from the Lapland fairs, we had nothing to fear from the rein-deer, unless it were to be left behind. If it be difficult to stop this animal when in its full strength, at the time of its exhaustion it is not less difficult to make him proceed.

We travelled thus, dragged through a forest, having eight or nine leagues to go: there was no road which led to the spot we were going to, which made it so much the more laborious for the rein-deer; at every short interval we were obliged to suffer them to rest, and give them moss which we had brought with us: this moss is their only food. The Laplanders mixed it with ice and snow, and form very hard cakes of it, which serve at the same time as food and beverage for the animal, who gnaw it with avidity. In spite of this, we were under necessity of leaving a deer on the road: he was tied to a tree, and some of these cakes left beside him.

We ourselves were much incommoded by the uneasy posture which we were obliged to assume in these pulkas: the only amusement afforded us during this tiresome journey, was in noticing in the snow the footsteps of the different animals with which the forests are filled; we easily distinguished the different ones, and saw with surprise the number of various animals which had passed in a very short space during a few days.

We saw on the road many snares laid for ermines, in some of which were prisoners. The Laplanders tie to a tree, whose top is cut off level with the height of the snow, a log of wood, covered by another ready to fall, beneath which a small passage is left for the ermine, and which, upon its entering to eat the bait that is set for him, falls on and crushes him.

It is thus that ermines, which are very plentiful in Lapland, are snared: these animals are cinnamon-coloured in summer, having only the belly and tip of the ears white: we frequently met with such on the banks of lakes and rivers, where I imagine they watch for fish, of which they are particularly fond; sometimes even we have found them swimming in the middle of the water. In winter they become entirely white; which was the case with those we found in the snares. However, upon leaving Torneo, a tame ermine that I had in the house had already lost its white in many places; and on my return some days afterwards I found it perfectly grey. It is true, if it be the cold which, by any cause whatever, whitens them, those which were exposed to the air should naturally remain longer white than those shut up in a house: perhaps the ermines found by us had been caught some time; for, as may be conceived, frozen animals are preserved all the winter. In the packages of ermines sold by the Laplanders, when the skins are turned inside out, there are always a number of grey, or spotted with grey, which are not used for trimmings.

We arrived at Keyma, situated at the foot of a little mountain called Winso, at one o'clock in the afternoon; we ascended it, it was there we were to find the monument we were seeking, but it was covered with snow. Our Laplanders sought for it without being able to find it, and I began to repent me of having undertaken so fatiguing a voyage upon such suspicious information, when after a long search it was discovered: I caused part of the snow to be removed, and lighted a great fire for the purpose of melting the remainder, in order that we might examine this pretended wonder.

It is a stone of which a part of irregular form advances out of the earth to the height of a foot and a half, and is about three feet broad: one of its faces is tolerably even, and forms a surface not altogether vertical, but which makes an acute angle with the horizon. On this face are two very straight lines of characters, rather more than an inch long, and which are cut tolerably deep into the stone, like notches made by the stroke of an axe in wood, or a chisel, being broad at the surface, and ending at the bottom with an acute angle.

At the bottom, and out of the two lines, are some larger characters; in spite of all the signs which these characters shew of having been engraved with iron, I dare not venture to affirm, whether they be the work of man, or a sport of nature.

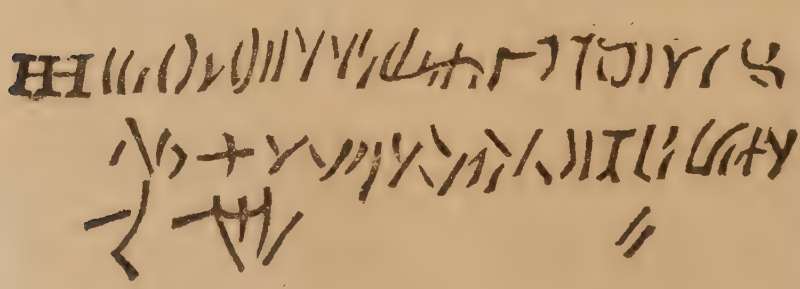
I leave to them who have made a longer study than myself of ancient monuments, or who may be more bold than me, to decide this question. If the resemblance of several of these characters, and even of many which succeed each other, appear to discountenance their being letters, I should not therefore conclude that such characters are without signification. If we mark one, eleven, one hundred and eleven, &c. in Arabic figures, it will readily be seen what different meaning may be made by the addition of a similar character.

The most ancient inscriptions of China are composed of no more than two characters, and one cannot doubt of these being the work of man, or of their containing a meaning, should they be no other, as some with much apparent reason imagine, than arithmetical works. If the tradition of the country be consulted, all the Laplanders assure us that they are characters of great antiquity, containing valuable secrets; but what can one believe in regard to antiquity from those people who even do not know their own age, and who for the greater part are ignorant who were their mothers.

M. Brunniers, their rector, speaks of this monument, in a dissertation that he has caused to be printed, upon the town of Torneo and the neighbouring country: he looks upon it to be a Runic inscription, and relates that there were formerly three crowns on it, effaced now by time. But M. Celsius, very well acquainted with the Runic, could not read these characters, and found them to differ from all the inscriptions subsisting in Sweden; and as for the crowns, if there ever were any, time has effaced them in such a manner that no vestige of them remains.

The stone on which these lines are engraved is composed of different beds; the characters are written on a species of flint, while the rest, and above all between the two lines, seems to be of a stone more soft and foliated.

However it may be, M. Celsius and myself copied separately, and with care, all that we could discern.



Should it be no other than a sport of nature, the reputation which the stone bears in this country deserves that we should have given the description of it.

This stone does not certainly possess the beauty of the monuments of Greece or Rome; but if what is on it be an inscription, it very possibly has the advantage of being the oldest in the universe. The country in which it is found is inhabited only by a race of men who live like beasts in the forests: we cannot imagine that they can have ever had any memorable event to transmit to posterity; nor if ever they had had, that they could ever have invented the means. Nor can it be conceived that this country, with its present aspect, ever possessed more civilized inhabitants. The rigour of the climate, and the barrenness of the land, have destined it for the retreat of a few miserable wretches who know no other.

It seems therefore that our inscription must have been cut at a period, when this country was situated in a different climate, and before some one of those great revolutions which we cannot doubt have taken place in our globe. The position that its axis holds at present, with respect of the ecliptic, occasions Lapland to receive the sun's rays very obliquely; it is thereby condemned to a winter long and fatal to man, as well as to all the productions of nature; its land is barren and a desart.

No great movement possibly in the heavens was necessary to cause all its misfortunes. These regions may formerly have been those on which the sun shone most favourably: the polar circles may have been what now the tropics are, and the torrid zone have filled the place now occupied by the temperate. But how could the situation of the axis of the earth be changed? If attention be paid to the motion of the celestial bodies, but too many causes may be seen capable of producing this and even greater changes.

If the knowledge of anatomy, of all the parts and all the springs which cause the motion of our bodies,

occasions those acquainted with it to wonder how the machine can possibly last so long, the same may be said of astronomy. The knowledge of the celestial movements discovers to us many causes which could effect not only upon our earth, but on the general system of the universe, material changes.

The variation in the obliquity of the ecliptic, which several astronomers consider as demonstrated by the observations of the ancients, compared with our own, might of itself, after a long lapse of ages, have produced changes similar to those we speak of. The obliquity at which the equator of the earth at present cuts the ecliptic, which at present is no more than $23\frac{1}{2}$ deg. may possibly be the remainder of a much greater obliquity, during which the poles may have been in the temperate or torrid zone, and have had the sun at their zenith.

Whether there may have been such changes, or more sudden ones, it is certain there has been some. The print of fish and fish themselves petrified, which are found in countries most remote from the sea, and even upon the summits of mountains, are incontestible proofs of these places having been formerly low and covered with water.

Sacred history teaches us that the waters formerly covered the highest mountains. Such an inundation it would be difficult to imagine, without the transposition of the centre of gravity of the earth and of its climates.

If repugnant to the allowance of such changes, the inscription at Winso may be conceived to owe its origin to some event as singular as our voyage. An inscription which should contain the history of the operation which we went to this country to effect, might in some future day, perhaps, be as obscure as this is now; and if all the sciences were to be lost, who could then discover, who could imagine, that such a monument had been the work of Frenchmen; and that what was cut thereon was the measurement

of the degrees of the earth, and the solution of its figure.

I leave my reflections and the monument to the conjectures which may be entertained on them, and take up the thread of my relation. After we had copied what we found on the stone, we embarked in our pulkas to return to Erckiheicki. This journey was still more fatiguing than it had been in the morning: the posture in the pulkas is so very incommodious, that it gives the sensation of a broken back after a few hours; notwithstanding we were so seated continually from four in the morning until one in the afternoon. Our return was still longer; our deer stopped every minute, and the moss we carried with us being all consumed, we were obliged to seek some. When the snow is in powder, which is the case till spring, although it cover the earth entirely to a great depth, a rein-deer digs himself a stable in a moment, and brushing away the snow on all sides, discovers the moss which is hid at the bottom. It is pretended that the animal has a particular instinct for finding the moss so covered with snow, and that he is never deceived when he makes his hole; but the state of the surface of snow hindered my ascertaining whether this account be true or false. As soon as this surface has been thawed by the power of the sun, the frost which succeeds freezes it, and forms a crust sufficiently hard to bear men, deer, and even horses; but when so hardened, the rein-deer being unable to penetrate it, the Laplanders are obliged to break it; and this is the total of the returns which they make them for their services.

These rein-deer deserve that we should say something of them; they are a kind of deer whose spreading horns branch out before the forehead; they seem designed by nature to satisfy all the wants of the Laplanders; they serve them instead of horses, cows, and sheep.

The Rein-deer is fastened to a small boat, called a

pulka, pointed before to cut through the snow, and a man in a posture half sitting and half lying in this carriage, may go with great speed, provided he does not fear overturning, or being ingulphed in the snow. The flesh of them is excellent to eat, either fresh or dried. The milk of the doe is rather sharp, but as thick as the cream from cows' milk: it is capable, when frozen, of being preserved for a long time, and the Laplanders make cheeses of it, which however would be much better than they are, if more care and cleanliness were used in making them.

The skin of the deer serves for all sorts of clothing: that of the young ones covered with a yellowish hair, a little curly, forms a very soft lining for the clothes of the Fins: when older, the hair becomes brown, when those dresses are made of it so well known over Europe by the name of Lapmades; they are wornwith the hair outwards, and are a very light and warm dress. The skin of the old deer is prepared in the same manner as that of bucks and does, and makes excellent gloves, the finest waistcoats, and most handsome girdles. The Laplanders make the nerves and guts, by twisting them into thread, which is the only kind they use. To conclude, that every part of them may be serviceable, they offer their horns in sacrifice to their deities.

Being returned from Pellika, after having experienced much fatigue, cold, and tiresomeness, we left it again on the thirteenth, early in the morning, and arrived by nine o'clock at Kingis.

This place, although a wretched one, is rather more known than the others, by the iron forges in it: the ore is brought there during the winter by reindeer, from the mines of Junesvando and Swappawara. These forges are worked only for a short part of the winter, the extreme frost not allowing the wheels to act upon the bellows and hammers. Kingis is situated on a branch of the river Torneo, which has a dreadful cataract before it, impassable for boats

The masses of ice and foam precipitated with violence, and forming a cascade, the edges of which appeared like crystal, formed a most noble spectacle. After dining with the clergyman at Kingis, M. Antilius, we left it, and arrived in the evening at Pello, where we slept in the same house that we had resided in so much, and which we beheld very likely the last time.

Proceeding from Kengis, we met upon the river several caravans of Laplanders carrying skins and fish to Pello, which they had been bartering for at the fairs of Upper Lapland with the merchants of Torneo. These caravans formed long files of pulkas: the first rein-deer, who is guided by a Laplander on foot, draws the first pulka, to which the second rein-deer is fastened; and in like manner the remainder, to the number of thirty or forty, who every one follow exactly in the little furrow traced in the snow by the first, and deepened by all the rest. When they are tired, and the Laplanders have pitched on a spot where they mean to encamp, they form with the deer fastened to their pulkas, a large circle: every one makes his bed in the snow on the middle of the river, and the Laplanders distribute moss among them: they themselves are little more difficult in their accommodation; many are satisfied with lighting a fire, and lie on the river, while their wives and children fetch from their pulkas some fish for their supper; others erect a kind of tent, a receptacle worthy of a Laplander, being no other than miserable rags of a coarse woollen cloth, rendered by smoke as black as if it had been dyed; it is fastened round certain stakes, which form a cone, with an opening at the top which serves for a chimney. There the most voluptuous, stretched on bear and rein-deer skins, pass their time in smoking tobacco, and looking with contempt on the occupations of the rest of men.

These people have no other dwellings than tents: all their wealth consists in their deer, which live on nothing but a moss that is not every where to be

found. When their herd has stripped the summit of one mountain, they are obliged to conduct them to another, thus obliged to live continually wandering in the desarts. Their forest, dreadful in winter, is even less fit for living in in summer: an innumerous swarm of flies of every description infect the air; they follow men by the smell from a great distance, and form around every one who stops, an atmosphere so thick as to exclude the light. To avoid them, it is necessary to be continually moving without rest, or to burn green trees, which causes a thick smoke, and drives them away by its becoming insupportable, as it is almost to man himself: and lastly, they are sometimes obliged to cover their skin with the pitch that exudes from the firs. These flies sting sharply, or rather, many of them frequently occasion real wounds, from which the blood flows abundantly.

During the time that these insects are most violent, that is to say, in the two months which we passed in forming our triangles in the forest, the Laplanders fly to the coasts of the ocean with their rein-deer, to get free from them.

I have not yet spoken of the appearance or size of the Laplanders, of which so many fables have been related. Their diminutiveness has been greatly exaggerated; it is impossible to exaggerate on their ugliness. The rigour and length of a winter, against which they have no other shelter than what the wretched tents afford which I have described, in which they make a blazing fire, which scorches them on one side, while they are frozen on the other: a short summer, but during which they are incessantly burnt by the rays of the sun; the barrenness of the ground, which produces neither grain, nor fruit, nor pulse, seem to have caused a degeneration of the human race in these climates. As to their size, they are shorter than other men, although not so much so as some travellers have related, who make pygmies of them. Out of a great number of men and women

that I saw, I measured a woman apparently of twenty-five or thirty years of age, and who suckled an infant which she carried in the bark of a birch-tree: she seemed to be in good health and well proportioned, according to the idea I formed of the proportions of their stature; she was four feet two inches five parts high, and certainly she was one of the smallest I met with, yet, without appearing from her diminutiveness either deformed or extraordinary in that country. People may have deceived themselves as to the stature or large heads of Laplanders, who have not made the observations which I did, in spite of the general ignorance of their ages that prevails among them. Children, who from their tenderest youth have their features disfigured, and frequently the appearance of little old men, begin very early to conduct their pulkas, and to follow the same labours as their fathers. I suspect the greater part of travellers have formed their judgment of the size of Laplanders, and of the largeness of their heads, from those of the children; and I myself have frequently been nearly deceived in this point. I do not mean to deny that Laplanders are shorter than other men for the greater part; but that I esteem their shortness to have been stated as too great in the relations of travellers, owing to the error I have mentioned, or possibly to that inclination towards the marvellous which is so predominant. To me there seems to be a head difference between us and them, which is a great deal.

TOUR

IN

CALABRIA AND SICILY,

IN 1783,

BY SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, K. B.

DESCRIBING THE

EARTHQUAKES.

THE violent earthquakes, which began on the 5th of February 1783, engaged the attention of all Europe, and the phenomena attending them, have been recorded in the transactions of various learned societies.

Sir William Hamilton, a gentleman of a philosophical turn of mind, and particularly curious on the the subject of volcanoes, to which his long residence in their vicinity, as minister at Naples, might probably lead him; not satisfied with the general information he received, determined, as soon as the earthquakes became over to, to visit the scenes where the greatest and most awful visitations had taken place, and to describe them on the spot.

In conformity to his resolution, he hired a Maltese speronara for himself, and a Neapolitan felucca for his servants, and left Naples on the 2d of May. By the particular directions of his Sicilian majesty, he was furnished with ample passports, and orders to facilitate his researches, and to procure him protection.

He had a pleasant voyage along the coast in his speronara. At Cedraro he found the first symptoms of the earthquakes; some of the principal inhabitants having taken up their abode in temporary barracks through fear, though not a house in the town had been demolished.

At St. Lucido, he perceived that the baron's palace and the church steeple had suffered; and that most of the inhabitants were in temporary buildings. Being desirous to get on as fast as possible to the centre of the mischief, he contented himself with a distant view of Maida, Nicastro, and Santo Eufemia, and landed at the town of Pizzo in Calabria Ultra, on the 6th of May.

This town had been greatly damaged by the earthquake on the 5th of February; but was completely ruined by that on the 28th of March. As the inhabitants, however, had sufficient warning to retire, the mortality at first was inconsiderable; but having taken up their temporary abode in a confined, insalubrious spot, an epidemical disorder broke out, which was then raging, in spite of all the wise precautions of government to stop its progress.

Sir William Hamilton was informed here, that the opposite volcano of Stromboli had smoked less, and thrown up a smaller quantity of burning matter, during the earthquake, than it had done for several years; and that slight shocks continued to be felt daily. At night he slept on board his vessel; but was awakened by a smart shock, which seemed to lift up the bottom of the boat.

Next day he proceeded to Reggio, and rode from thence to Monteleone, through a most beautiful and fertile country, abounding in fruit, olive, and forest trees, and the richest crops of corn and vegetables. The olive woods in this tract are of great size, and are sometimes planted regularly in rows.

The town of Monteleone, the ancient Vibo Valentia, is charmingly situated on a hill, over-looking the sea. It suffered little by the first earthquake, but was greatly damaged by the subsequent shocks, and some lives were lost. The inhabitants were then in the barracks; and has this part of the country has ever been subject to earthquakes, the dukes of Monteleone had long ago erected a spacious and commodious barrack, to which the family constantly retired, on the first appearance of danger.

By the kindness of this nobleman, our inquisitive tourist was well lodged, and furnished with horses and guards, to visit every curious spot in the vicinity. All agreed here, that every shock of the earthquake seemed to proceed with a rumbling noise from the westward; and that, before its commencement, the clouds seemed to be fixed and motionless.

Our author conversed with many persons who were thrown down by the violence of some of the shocks. They told him the motion of the earth was so violent, that the h ads of the largest trees almost touched the ground; and that animals seemed to have the earliest presentiment of donger.

From Monteleone he descended through many towns and villages, which had been more or less damaged, according to their vicinity to the plain. The town of Mileto, at the bottom, had not a house standing. At some distance, Soriano, and the noble dominican convent were a heap of ruins. At the former, two hogs were dug out alive, after being without food forty-two days. Various instances of this kind occurred in different parts.

After passing through the ruined town of St. Pietro, they had a distant view of Sicily and the summit of Etna, which smoked inconsiderably. Near Rosarno, they passed over a swampy plain, watered by the Mamella, in many parts of which were small hollows in the earth, of the shape of an inverted cone, and covered with sand. During the earthquake of the 5th of February, from each of those cavities a fountain of water, mixed with sand, had spouted to a considerable height. Before this appearance, the river was dry; but soon after returned, and overflowed its banks. This phenomenon had attended all the other rivers in the plain, during the formidable convulsion.

Between this place and Rosarno, they passed the river Messano by a strong timber bridge, seven hundred palm's long, which had taken an undulated form, and was considerably damaged.

The town of Rofarno, with the duke of Monteleone's palace there, was entirely demolished. The mortality, however, did not much exceed two hundred out of near three thousand inhabitants. It had been constantly remarked, that the male dead were generally found under the ruins, in the attitude of struggling against danger; but that the female attitude was commonly with the hands clasped over the head, unless when they had children near them, in which case they were found clasping them in their arms, or in some position that indicated female tenderness and maternal fondness.

After dining in a barrack, the owner of which had lost five of his family, they proceeded to Lauranea, often crossing the wide-extended bed of the river Metauro. The environs of this town are a perfect Eden, and few lives were lost here, as the situation is elevated, and the inhabitants were apprized of the danger.

A gentleman of Mileto attended Sir William Hamil-

ton to the two tenements, called Macini and Vaticano, which had changed their position. These tenements, as they are called, were situated in a valley, surrounded by high grounds. They are about a mile long and half a mile broad; and were floated down the valley near a mile, with most of the trees erect, and a thatched cottage still entire.

From thence they travelled through the same delightful country to Polestene. Not a single house was to be seen standing here: all was devastion and misery. Every surviving inhabitant wore a doleful face, and some melancholy token of having lost their dearest connections.

"I travelled four days in the plain," says Sir William, "in the midst of such misery as cannot be described. All the inhabitants of the towns were buried, either dead or alive, in an instant. Two thousand one hundred, out of six thousand persons, lost their lives on the fatal 5th of February. The Marquis of St. Giorgio, the baron of the place, was humanely employed in finding shelter and employment for those who had escaped the catastrophe.

"After dining with the marquis in his humble barrack, near the ruins of his very magnificent palace, I passed through fine woods of olive and chesnut trees, to Casal Nuova, and was shewn the spot on which stood the palace of my unfortunate friend, the princess Gerace Grimaldi, who, with more than four thousand of her subjects, lost her life by the sudden explosion of the 5th of February.

"I was informed here, by some who had been dug out of the ruins, that they felt their houses fairly lifted up, without the least previous notice. An inhabitant of Casal Nuovo told me that, being on a hill at the moment of the earthquake, overlooking the plain, he turned as he felt the shock, and instead of the town, saw a thick cloud of white dust rise like smoke."

From thence they went to Castellace and Milicusco, both in the same forlorn condition. At Terra Nuova was a ravine five hundred feet deep, and three quarters of a mile broad; yet such was the violence of the earthquake, that some hundreds of houses were detached into the ravine, and nearly carried across it, about half a mile from their original situation. Our tourist met with some persons who had taken this singular flight, and were dug out alive.

"I spoke to one," says Sir William, "who had taken this journey in his house, with his wife and a maid servant. Neither he nor the latter were hurt; but his wife had both her legs and one arm broke, and received a fracture on her skull, so that the brain was visible; nevertheless she recovered.

Of one thousand six hundred inhabitants of Terra Nuova, only four hundred escaped with life. A priest and physician here, had been shut up in the ruins of his house by the first shock, and liberated by a second. There are many well-attested instances of the same having happened in other parts of Calabria.

At the moment of the earthquake, the river disappeared here as at Rosarno; and returning soon after, filled the ravine three feet deep in water.

The whole town of Mollochi di Sotto, near Terra Nuovo, was likewise detached into the ravine; and they saw a vineyard of many acres lying in its bottom in perfect order, but in an inclined situation. Some water-mills on the river were lifted many feet above its bed.

The next place they visited was Oppido, a city standing on a mountain and surrounded by two rivers in an immense ravine, formed by the earthquake. Some of the houses of Oppido were thrown into this gulph; but this was a trifling circumstance, compared to the large tracks of land, with plantations of vines and olives, which were carried quite across it.

"It is a well-attested fact," says Sir William, "that a countryman, who was ploughing his field in this neighbourhood with two oxen, was transported with his field and team, from one side of the ravine to the other, without the least hurt. I met here, continues he, with a remarkable instance of the immediate distress to which the inhabitants of the destroyed towns were reduced. Don Marcillo Grillo, a gentleman of fortune and of great landed property, having escaped from his house at Oppido, remained several days, without food or shelter, during heavy rains, and was at last obliged to a hermit, in the neighbourhood, for the loan of a clean shirt."

Having walked over the ruins of Oppido, they descended into the ravine, and found many acres of woodland and arable ground in perfect order in its bottom. Whole vineyards had taken the same journey, and some considerable mountains occupied the same gulph.

At Oppido our author was shewn two girls, one about sixteen years of age, who had remained under the ruins eleven days without food; she had a child of a few months old in her arms, who died the fourth day. The other girl was about eleven years old; she was dug out on the sixth day; but being in a very confined and distressful posture, one of her hands pressing against her cheek, had nearly worn a hole through it.

From Oppido they proceeded through several ruined towns and villages to Seminara and Palmi. The houses of the former, being more elevated, were not so ruinous as those of the latter. One thousand four hundred lives were lost at Palmi, and all the dead bodies, that could be recovered, were removed and burnt, as in most other places, to prevent contagion.

"I shall never forget," says Sir William, "a melancholy figure of a woman in mourning, sitting on the

ruins of her house, her head reclined on her hand and knee, and following, with an anxious, eager eye, every stroke of the pick axe of the labourers, employed to clear away the rubbish, in hopes of recovering the corpse of a favourite child."

This town was a great market for oil, of which there were upwards of four thousand barrels, at the time of its destruction; so that a river of oil ran into the sea from it, for many hours.

From Palmi, Sir William proceeded through the beautiful woody mountains of Bagrara and Solano, but dangerous on account of robbers and precipices. In the midst of a narrow pass they felt a smart shock, accompanied by a loud explosion, like that of springing a mine; but fortunately they received no hurt.

After passing those woods, they travelled through rich corn fields and lawns, and reaching the top of an open plain on a hill, they had a view of the Faro of Messina, and the whole coast of Sicily as far as Catania, with Mount Ætna rising proudly beyond it.

From thence they descended to the Torre del Pizzolo, where an epidemical distemper had already manifested itself. Several fishermen assured them that, during the earthquake of the 5th of February, at night, the sand near the sea was hot, and that they saw fire issue from the earth in many parts.

From this place to Reggio, the road on each side is covered with villas and orange groves. Not one house was levelled to the ground, but all had been damaged and abandoned.

About sun-set they arrived at Reggio, which had not an inhabited house in it; yet it had comparatively suffered little. All the inhabitants had taken up their residence in barracks. The archbishop had distinguished himself by his good sense and humanity. He disposed of all the superfluous ornaments of the churches, of his own horses and furniture, for the sole relief of his distressed flock.

Silk and essence of bergamot, oranges, and lemons, are the principle articles of trade at Reggio. Not less than one hundred thousand quarts of this essence are annually exported. The fruit, after the rind is taken off, is given to the cows and oxen, whose flesh smells strongly of bergamot.

The mortaltiy here did not exceed one hundred and twenty six. As the earthquake happened about noon, the inhabitants had time to escape; whereas the shock in the plain was as instantaneous, as it was violent and destructive.

Reggio has frequently been destroyed by earthquakes; and after one catastrophe of this nature, was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar. Part of the wall still remains, and is called the Julian Tower.

There are some towns in the neighbourhood of Reggio that still retain the Greek language, of which our author had evidence in a former tour.

On the 14th of May, they left Reggio, and proceeded to Messina by sea. The port, and the town in its half ruined state, were strikingly picturesque. The force of the earthquake, though certainly violent, was trivial, when compared to its violence in the plain.

Many of the most superb buildings in the lower paths of the towns were shattered; and some tumbled down; but in the higher parts, little comparative damage had been sustained.

The mortality at Messina did not exceed seven hundred in a population of thirty thousand, a proof how well it escaped. Some houses were inhabited and shops open; but the generality of the inhabitants were in tents and barracks.

"I could not help remarking here," says our author, "that the nuns, who likewise live in barracks, were constantly walking about, under the tuition of their confessor, and seemed to enjoy the liberty which the earthquakes had given them. I

made the same observation with respect to the schoolboys at Reggio; from whence I concluded, that earthquakes were particularly pleasing to nuns and schoolboys."

Out of the cracks of the quay, it is said that, during the earthquake, fire was seen to issue; but as there were no visible signs of it, it was probably no more than an electric vapour, or a kind of inflammable air.

Various instances occurred here of the long abstinence from food which animals are capable of supporting. Two mules, belonging to the Duke of Belviso, remained under a heap of ruins twenty-two days, and afterwards recovered. There are numberless instances of dogs remaining in the same situation. None of these animals could eat at first, but they all drank freely; it is, therefore, probable that long fasting is always attended with a great thirst and a total loss of appetite.

A small fish, called cicirelli, resembling a white bait, but larger, which generally lies buried in the sand at the bottom of the sea, was caught in prodigious quantities after the earthquakes; though before it was rare. All the fishermen along the coast of Sicily and Calabria, confirmed the truth of this circumstance. Hence it is probable, that the sand at the bottom of the sea was heated by the volcanic fire under it, or that the continual tremor of the earth had driven the fish out of their retreats.

The officer, who commanded in the citadel of Messina, on the fatal 5th of February, assured our author, that the sea, about a quarter of a mile from that fortress, rose and boiled in a most extraordinary manner, and with a most horrid and alarming noise; the water in other parts of the Faro being perfectly calm.

On the 17th of May, Sir William left Messina, where he had met with the kindest and most hospitable reception; and proceeded in his speronara along

the Sicilian coast, to the entrance of the Faro, where he landed, and found a priest who almost lost his life by an amazing wave, that passed over the point on the night between the 5th and 6th of February. It rose to such height, and came on with such rapidity, that nothing could resist its fury. Twenty-four unhappy people lost their lives in an instant; and a poor priest, who was in the tower on the point, was carried away with half of the building.

From this place Sir William crossed over to Scilla, where he met with the Padre Minasi, a very able naturalist, who was employed by the academy of Naples to give a description of the phenomena attending the earthquakes in those parts.

This gentleman explained the nature of the formidable wave which was felt at Faro, but here did immense damage, sweeping the prince of Scilla, and two thousand four hundred and seventy-three of his unfortunate subjects, into the sea. It was occasioned by a mountain thrown into the sea, which immediately raised the water, though calm before, in a most tremendous manner, and dashed the miserable persons, who had sought for shelter in boats, against the rocks, or swallowed them up in the deep. A second and a third wave succeeded, though of diminished force; and prevented the unhappy sufferers, in general, from recovering the the shock of the first.

"I spoke here," says Sir William, "to several men, women, and children, who had been cruelly maimed, or carried into the sea by this dreadful accident. Here, said one, my head was forced through the door of the cellar, which he shewed me broken. There, said another, was I drove into a barrel. The a woman shewed me her child, covered with deep wounds from the stones and timber, dashing about in the water in this narrow port. One woman, four months gone with child, was swept into the sea by the wave, and taken up alive, floating on her back,

at some distance, nine hours after. She did not even miscarry, and soon recovered her cahlth. Being used to swimming, as most of the women of Calabria are, she had kept above water till she despaired of relief, and was just trying to force her head under water, as the boat appeared to pick her up.

In his way back to Naples, where he arrived on the 23d of May, Sir William Hamilton traversed the coast of the two Calabrias, going ashore at Tropea, Paula, and in the bay of Palinurus. Tropea was little damaged, though the inhabitants were in barracks. There had been a smart shock felt here on the 15th of May.

During our tourist's stay in Calabria and Sicily, five shocks had been felt, three of which were rather alarming. We conclude with an abstract of his sentiments on the causes of the convulsions of nature, which he had been investigating. "My idea," says he, "of the present local earthquakes, is that they have been caused by the same kind of matter that gave birth to the Eolian, or Lipari islands; that perhaps an opening may have been made at the bottom of the sea, and that the foundation of a new island or volcano may have been laid, though it may be ages, which to nature are but moments, before it is completed, and appears above the surface of the sea. Nature is ever active; but her progress in general is so slow, as not to be perceived by mortal eye, or recorded in a very short space of time, which we call history, be it ever so ancient. Perhaps too the whole destruction I have been describing, may have proceeded simply from the exhalations of confined vapours, generated by the fermentation of such minerals as produce volcanos, which have escaped, where they met with the least resistance, and therefore naturally affected the plains more than the mountains."